

*25

GUACANAGARI PONTIAC BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE KEOKUK
GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS
SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS
MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL
UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG SEQUOYA GERONIMO
SHABONEE

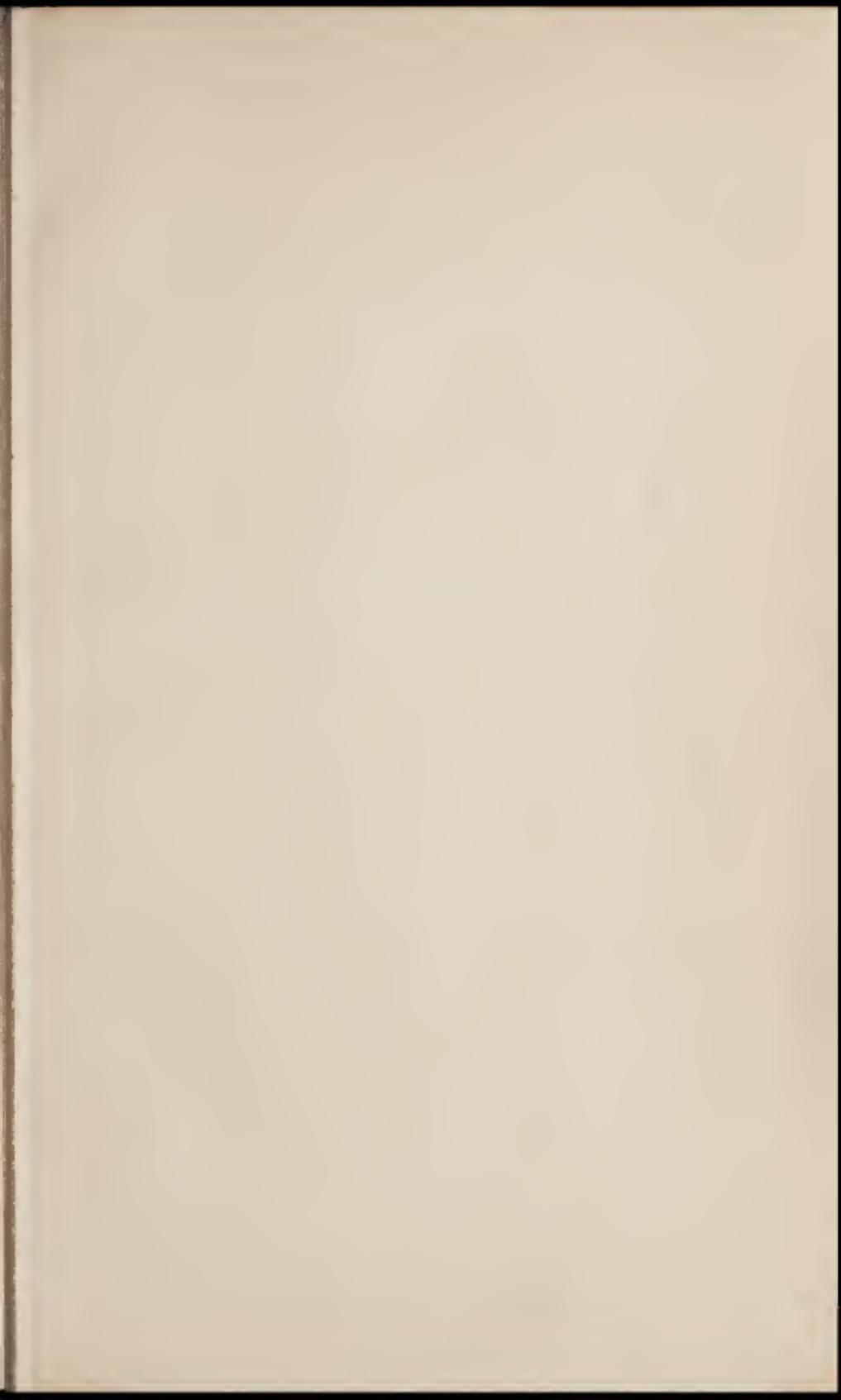


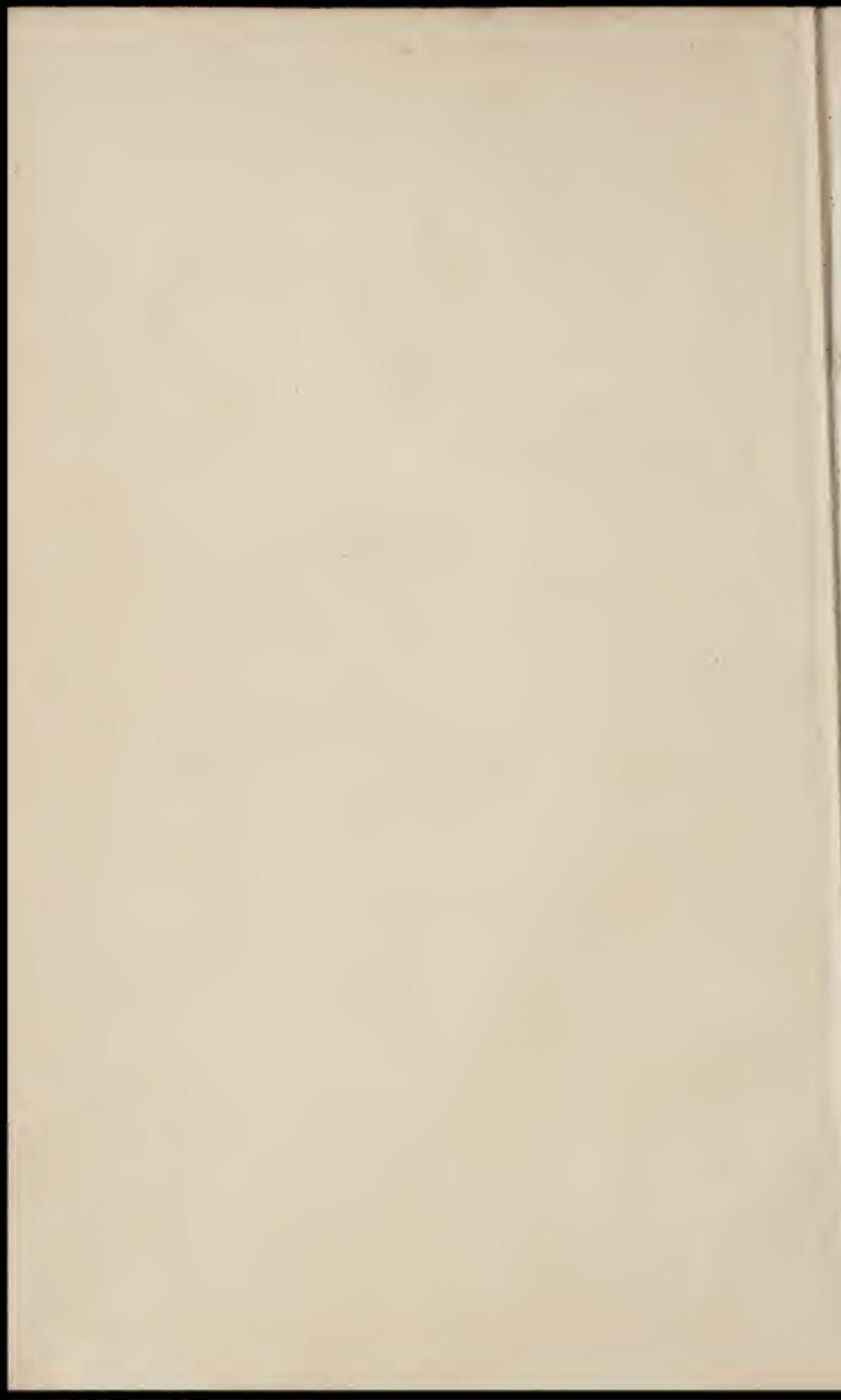
TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE
ABOVE CHIEFS AND WISE MEN
THIS COLLECTION HAS BEEN
GATHERED BY THEIR FRIEND
EDWARD EVERETT AYER

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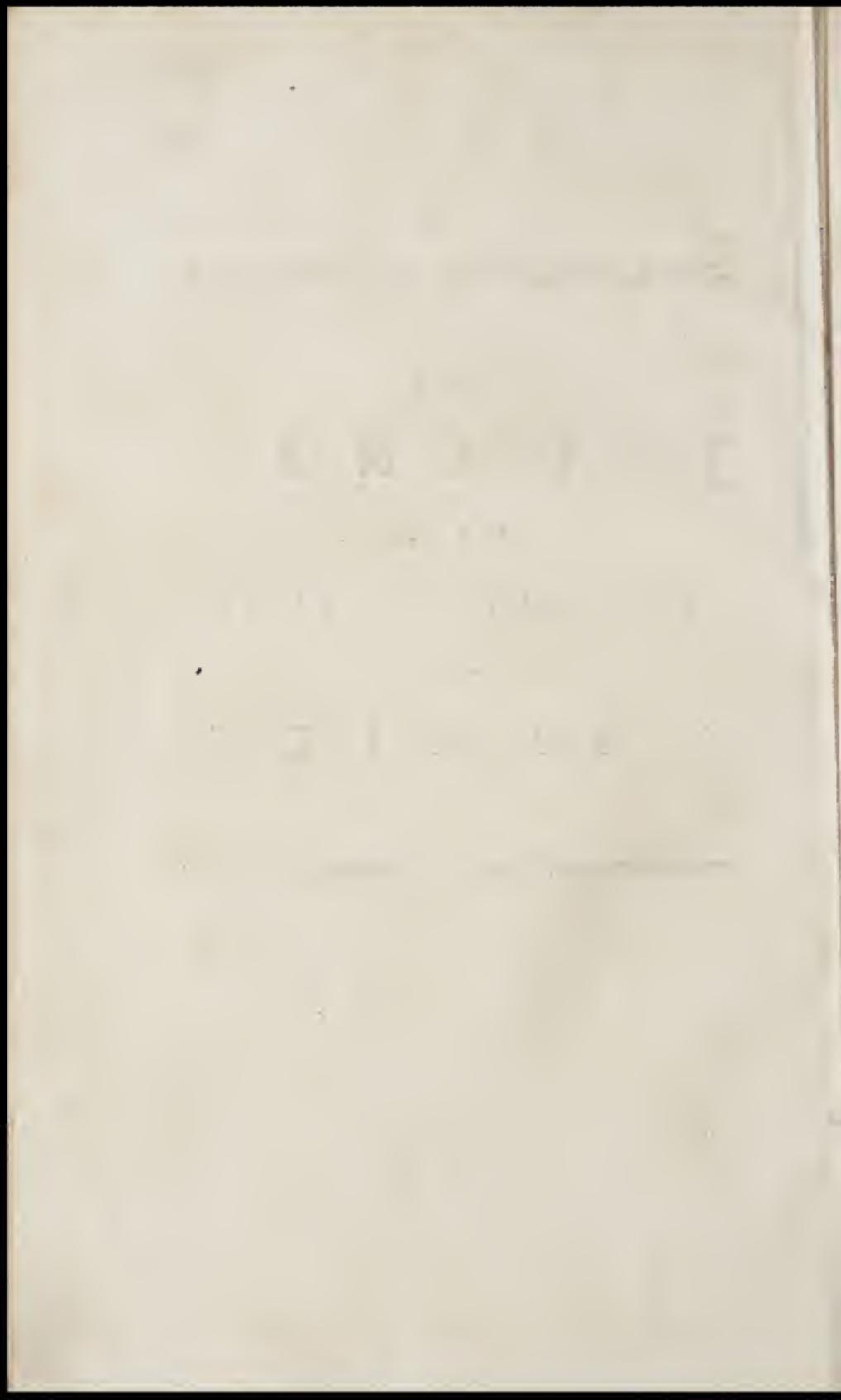


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T H E
J O U R N A L
O F A
T W O M O N T H S T O U R
I N
A M E R I C A.



THE
JOURNAL
OF A
TWO MONTHS TOUR;
WITH A VIEW OF
PROMOTING RELIGION AMONG THE
FRONTIER INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

AND OF
INTRODUCING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE
INDIANS TO THE WESTWARD OF THE ALEGH-GENY
MOUNTAINS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS on the LANGUAGE and CUSTOMS of
some particular TRIBES among the INDIANS, with a
brief Account of the various Attempts that have been
made to civilize and convert them, from the first Settlement
of NEW ENGLAND to this Day;

BY CHARLES BEATTY, A. M.

"As cold Water to a thirsty Soul; so is good News from a far Country.
PROV. xxv. 25."

L O N D O N:

Printed for WILLIAM DAVENHILL, No. 8 in CORNHILL;
and GEORGE PEARCH, No. 12 in CHEAPSIDE.
M DCC LXVIII.

THE NEW
LIBRARY

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth, and the other Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen, in Trust with his Lordship, for the Rev. Dr. Wheelock's Indian Charity Schools.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

THE following pages contain an account of a journey, undertaken by the reverend Mr. Duffield and myself, at the appointment of the Synod of New York and *Philadelphia*, to the Inhabitants on the Frontiers

Frontiers of *Pennsylvania*, and the *Indians* that lie beyond them. Our errand to the former, was to examine what assistance might be thought necessary to be given them, in order to promote their religious interests, immediately after their emerging out of the distresses occasioned by the late desolating war: and, by visiting the latter, we were to try if they discovered any favourable disposition for attending to the gospel and the ministrations of it.

The important nature of our mission, the many difficulties that occurred to us in its execution, and the success with which divine Providence, in some measure, blessed us, are so many concurrent obligations on us, to present our Journal to the eye of the Public, as we humbly apprehend the welfare, both of civil and religious society,

is

is not a little interested in the concerns of both.

The whole only exhibits a plain, artless narrative of matters of fact; and I cannot but look upon it as an additional blessing, that the honourable and most worthy board of trustees for Dr. *Wheelock's Indian Charity Schools*, will permit me thus to commit the Patronage of it to Them.

Glory be to God! that truly Christian and laudable Institution is now in a most promising way; and, I humbly hope, in due season, will be productive, not only of civilizing, but of truly converting thousands and ten thousands of the Pagan and Savage Nations in *America*.—For all your counsels and cares for this important purpose; that you may be able to rejoice, both

in

in life and death ; and that the blessing of many, who were ready to perish, may descend on you and your posterity to the latest generations, is, and shall be the hearty prayer of,

Right Honourable, and

Honoured Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

And grateful Servant,

C. BEATTY.

A JOURNAL.

T H E
J O U R N A L.

B EING appointed by the synod of *New-York* and *Philadelphia* to visit the frontier-inhabitants, that a better judgment might be formed what assistance might be necessary to afford them, in their present low circumstances, in order to promote the gospel among them; and likewise to visit the *Indians*, in case it could be done with safety, to know whether they were inclined to receive the gospel; I accordingly sat out on my journey, *Tuesday* the 12th of *August*, 1766, accompanied with *Joseph Peepy*, a christian *Indian*, who was to serve as an interpreter; and, after travelling one hundred and twenty-two miles, we arrived at *Carlisle*, on *Friday* the 15th instant, where I met Mr. *Duffield*, who was also appointed to accompany us, and lodged at col. *Armstrong's*.

Carlisle, Saturday, August 16. Remained here; as I understood that none of the vacant congrega-

B gations

gations had any notice of my design of being with them on the morrow. An opportunity presenting to-day, we sent notice to several places of our purpose to preach to the people there next week.

Carlisle, 17th. Sabbath. Preached for Mr. *Duffield* in the Afternoon.

18th. *Monday.* In the forenoon were much engaged, preparing for our journey;—sat out with Mr. *Duffield*. After riding about six miles, we came to the north mountain, which is high and steep. The day being very warm, and we obliged to walk, or rather climb up it, the greatest part of the way, were greatly fatigued by the time we reached the top.—After travelling four miles into *Sherman's* valley, we came, in the night, to *Thomas Ross's*, where we lodged.

19th. *Tuesday.* Rode four or five miles to a place in the wood, designed for building a house for worship, and preached but to a small auditory; notice of our preaching not having been sufficiently spread. After sermon, I opened to the people present, the principal design of the synod in sending us to them, at this time; that it was not only to preach the gospel, but also to enquire into their circumstances, situation, numbers, and ability to support it.

The people not being prepared to give us a full answer, promised to send it to *Carlisle* before

before our return. After sermon, we proceeded on our way about five miles, and lodged at Mr. Fergus's *.

20th. *Wednesday.* This morning, after travelling about seven miles, we crossed the *Tuskerora* mountain, which is very high, and in most places very difficult to pass †. In riding three miles on the other side of this mountain, we came to a house ‡ where a number of people

* The house where he lives was attacked by the *Indians* in the late war, the owner of it killed, and, if I am not mistaken, some others. While the *Indians* were pillaging the house and plantation, in order to carry off what suited them, a number of the countrymen armed came upon them; a smart skirmish ensued, in which the countrymen had the better. The *Indians* were obliged to fly, and carried off their wounded, but left all their booty behind them.

† Not far from where we passed to-day, after crossing the mountain, a block-house, or some little fortification, was built by a number of the inhabitants for their protection in time of war. The *Indians*, who very probably were watching them, took the advantage one day, when most of the men were about their business, and attacked the place, and killed and captivated all that were in it. So that the poor men found on their return, to their unspeakable grief, their wives and children all carried off; and what still added to their concern, the fears of their being put to death in the most barbarous manner.

‡ The house I preached at to-day was also attacked by the *Indians*: some were killed in the house, and others captivated. It was truly affecting to see, almost in every place

people were convened, whom I preached to, they promised to attend sermon to-morrow, and give us an account of their situation, numbers, &c. After sermon we rode to Mr. *William Graham's*, about three miles from hence, and lodged at his house.

21st. *Thursday*. After riding about two miles and a half, we came to a place where the people had begun to build a house for worship, before the late war, but by accident had been burned. Here Mr. *Duffield* preached to a number of people convened, who after sermon informed us that this valley of *Tuskerora* is about thirty-two miles in length; between six and seven miles broad in the middle, and about ten miles wide at the lower end next to *Juniata* river.

There are about eighty-four families living in this valley, who propose to build two houses for worship; one about fourteen miles from the upper end of the valley, and the other ten miles below

on the frontiers, marks of the ravages of the cruel and barbarous enemy. Houses and fences burned, household furniture destroyed, the cattle killed, and horses either killed or carried off, and to hear the people relate the horrid scenes that were acted. Some had their parents killed and scalped, in a barbarous manner, before their eyes, and themselves captivated. Women saw their husbands killed and scalped, while they themselves were led away by the bloody

below it, towards *Juniata* river. As their circumstances, at present, are such, that they cannot support the gospel, they purpose to join with the people settled upon the other side of *Juniata*; but hope in a few years to be able to support a minister in the valley. We must say, upon the whole, that they appear very desirous to have the gospel settled among them, and are willing to exert themselves to the utmost for that purpose; and as soon as it shall be in their power, they design to purchase a plantation for a parsonage. After sermon we rode eight miles to capt. *Paterson's*, where we were kindly received*.

22d. *Friday.*

bloody hands of the murderers. Others related that they saw the cruel scene, and that they themselves narrowly escaped.

* Here we met with one *Levi Hick*, who had been captive with the *Indians*, from his youth, and we being very desirous to know their present situation, and circumstances, he gave us the following relation, that about one hundred miles westward of *Fort Pitt*, was an *Indian* town, called *Tuskalawas*; and at some considerable distance from that was another town named *Kighalampegba*, where *Natatwhelman*, the king of the *Delawares*, lived; and from thence, about ten miles or more, was one called *Mogbawhiston*, i. e. *Worm-Town*, having about twenty houses; that seventeen miles thence was another town, named *Ogh-ki-taw-mikaw*, i. e. *White-corn-Town*; that this was the largest, he supposed, in these parts; that about twenty miles farther, was a *Shau-aw-a-nogh Town*; that there was another at some distance,

22d. *Friday.* Preached in the woods, as we have done mostly hitherto, two miles on the north side of *Juniata*. Here the people, some years ago, began to build a house for worship, but did not finish it, but expect soon to do it. This congregation extends about twenty miles along the river, and its breadth from *Juniata* to the head of the river called *Kochalamis*, is about ten miles; and in this extent there are but fifty families, who meet together for worship. They purpose joining *Tuskerora* settlement, at present, till such time as they shall be able to support a minister themselves; which they expect to do in some years if peace continues; and, as soon as they can, to procure a plantation for a parsonage. In short, these poor people, as well as those of *Tuskerora*, before mentioned, are very desirous of having the gospel settled amongst them, and for that

distance, called *Sugh-cha-ungh*, that is, the *S It-lick*, of about twenty houses. In this town, he told us, there was an *Indian* that spoke to the *Indians* about religion; that forty miles farther was a town called *Migb-chi-lagbjeifa*, that is the *Big-lick*. He told us, that he thought, from some things he observed among the *Indians*, that they would be desirous of hearing the gospel. This intelligence, with some other circumstances related to us by an *Indian* trader, gave us some encouragement to venture out among them.

purpose

purpose appeared forward, and willing to do every thing in their power; but at present the people here, and in other places, that have suffered so much by the war, have a number of difficulties to struggle with; as they have to begin the world anew.

After sermon we returned to capt. *Paterson's*, where Mr. *Duffield* and I agreed to part for some days, the better to be able to answer the great design of our mission; for by these means we should be able to visit double the places, and preach to double the people we could have done, had we been together. Accordingly Mr. *Duffield* proposed to go to the *Path-valley*, great and little *Coves*, and to set out this evening in his way to the first of these places, where he intended to preach next sabbath; and I purposed to visit the new settlements up the river *Juniata*.

23d. Saturday. Remained at capt. *Pater-
son's*.

24th. Sabbath. Preached near the mouth of *Tuskerora* river (where it empties itself into *Juniata*) to a large congregation collected from different quarters, and some from afar. The audience appeared very attentive, and much engaged. I would fain hope some good impressions were made upon the minds of a number that attended to-day. In the afternoon, being in

in the open air, we were interrupted by a very heavy shower of rain, attended with a high wind and sharp thunder, which obliged us to take shelter in a neighbouring house as well as we could. The women, and a great part of the men crowded into it, and there I finished my discourse. After sermon, I went to a house about a mile off, and baptized a child born last night, and returned to capt. *Paterson's* in the evening.

25th. *Monday*. Sat out from capt. *Paterson's* this morning, as early as we could, on our journey, accompanied with *Joseph* the interpreter, and *Levi Hicks*, mentioned before, as being many years a prisoner among the *Indians*. I understood he was considerably impressed under the word yesterday, and therefore was desirous to hear more sermons. We travelled up *Juniata* river, eight miles through a bad road, to a place called the *Narrows*, where a rocky mountain bounds so close upon the river, as to leave only a small path, along the bank, for the most part; and, this for about ten miles, very uneven: at this time also greatly incumbered by trees fallen across it, blown up from the roots, some time ago, by a hard gale of wind; so that we were obliged to walk some part of the way, and in some places to go along the edge of the water. After riding about twenty-one

one miles, we came to Mr. *Thomas Helts**, much fatigued, where we rested an hour or two, and refreshed ourselves, and fed our horses.

We proceeded on our journey, the road being now pretty good, the land we passed over, for the most part, level, some of it very rich, yet uninhabited. Night coming on, and it being very dark, we were at a difficulty to find our way; and rain coming on, at the same time, added to our distress. We began to conclude we must take up our lodging in the woods, but a kind providence at last brought us to a little house, where we were received kindly, and entertained in the best manner, that was in the people's power.

26th. *Tuesday*. Finding that notice of my preaching to-day, had not been sufficiently spread through this settlement, the man of the house, where I lodged, sent this morning betimes,

* Not far from his house stood *Fort Greenville*, erected there the last war, and garrisoned by a small number of provincial troops. This place was attacked by the savage enemy. Lieutenant *Armstrong*, and the few men under his command, made a noble defence, for some time, till at last the enemy found means to set the fort on fire, which was made only of wood. A breach, by this means, being made, the commanding officer was killed, and the remaining troops, with such of the inhabitants, who had fled there for refuge, were either killed or taken prisoners.

in order to notify my preaching to the people, that lived at some considerable distance up the river; while I at the same time crossed the river at a fording-place, to a house, and from thence sent notice to those living on that side of the river. By twelve o'clock a considerable number of people were collected at a place in the woods, where a mill was building, near to which a house for worship is intended to be built, as being most essential to the inhabitants in those parts. While the people were convening, it began to rain, and the rain continuing, obliged as many as could to croud into a small house. While I was preaching, and the people were very attentive, we were alarmed by a rattle-snake creeping into the house, among the people, supposed to have got in under the logs of the house, it being pretty open, but this venomous creature was happily discovered, and killed before it did any damage. Scarcely were the people well composed again, before we were alarmed anew, by a snake of another kind, being discovered among the people, which was also killed, without any detriment, besides disturbing us. The providence of God appeared very remarkable in preserving us from the venom of the creatures, and more so, as these people were so crowded together, as that it might
be

be a just matter of wonder how these creatures could crawl through the congregation without being some way offended by them, which always excites them to bite: however the auditors all got composed again, and were attentive the remaining part of the discourse, which was the first sermon ever preached in these parts.—Here I baptized several children; and after sermon rode about four miles and a half with one of the audience, and lodged at his house.

This settlement, on both sides the river *Juniata*, consisting at present of about eighty families, extends from the place called the *Narrows*, mentioned before, to where the river *Augbweek* empties itself into the *Juniata*.—The settlement is about twenty-five miles in length; and in the center, seven miles broad.

There is another settlement just began, consisting, at present, of six or seven families, four miles from the center of the former, over a mountain, called *Kithaquaquilla*, or *Great Valley*, extending about thirty miles, and five or six wide. As the land here is very good, a greater number of people is expected to settle there in the spring. Both these places propose joining, in order to make one congregation.—They are desirous of having a minister settled among them as soon as may be, and appear to be willing to

do as much towards his support, as their present low circumstances will admit.

27th. *Wednesday.* I baptized a child this morning, brought to my lodging, and then sat out in company with several people. I rode about eight miles, and preached to a small auditory, convened for that purpose, who appeared attentive. I baptized several children, and lodged near the place, at Mr. *John M^c Michael's**.

28th. *Thursday.* Rained last night and this morning till 9 o'clock, when we sat out for *Fort Littleton*, crossing *Juniata*, at the mouth of *Aughweek* river, and being conducted by the man, in

* Here, and in many other places on this river, is very rich land, usually distinguished by the name of *Bottom-Land*, excellent for hemp, and *Indian corn*; but it is so rich, that it must be cultivated some years, and sowed or planted with other grain or hemp, before it will produce good wheat. It abounds with fine black walnut timber; and the people settled on this river have an advantage above many others on the frontiers; and that is, of carrying down the river, when the water rises but a little with the rains, their produce, and floating down walnut boards to *Harris's* or *Wright's* ferry, on *Susquehannah* river, the former within thirty-five, and the latter about eight miles off *Lancaster* town, (which is sixty five miles from *Philadelphia*) where they have a market for their produce; so that probably they will be able in some years, if peace continues, to support a minister among them.

whose

whose house we lodged, about twelve or fourteen miles along a small path which led up the river *Aughweek*, crossing the bendings of it a number of times, (the land chiefly level, and some very rich near the river) we passed by an old *Indian* town, now deserted, where *Fort Shirley* was built in the late war.—Hitherto we saw but two or three houses.—We halted a little while on a natural meadow, situated on a bend of the river *Aughweek*, to let our horses feed. After travelling about thirty miles to-day, we arrived a little before night at *Fort Littleton*, and put up at Mr. *Bird's*, a public-house.

29th. *Friday*. Preached to a small congregation of people, who live about this place. In the evening Mr. *Duffield* arrived, and gave the following account of his tour.

23d. *August, Saturday*. Rode to *John Blair's*, in the *Path-Valley*, thirty miles.

24th. *Sabbath*. Preached to a considerable large congregation.

25th. *Monday*. Preached at the place designed for building a house for worship; and received the following information from the people, of their situation and circumstances.

This *Path-Valley* is twenty-three miles in length, and in general about three miles in breadth. In one township, called *Fanet*, there are

are about seventy families, who are desirous of the gospel, and willing to support it, according to their abilities, being very unanimous. they have fixed upon a place, about eight or nine miles from the head of the valley, where they propose soon to build a house for worship; and as this valley will admit of a number of people more to settle in it, they expect to be able to support a minister, after some years; but at present they labour under the same difficulties as their neighbours in the other villages and places on the frontiers, just beginning the world, in a manner, after their late distresses by the war. They have no prospect at present of a glebe for a minister, as the land is all taken up; but are desirous to procure one as soon as it shall be in their power. Lodged at Mr. *Francis Elliot's*.

26th, and 27th days. Tarried at *Cannogaebeuge* settlement.

28th. *Thursday*. At Mr. *Smith's*.

29th. *Friday*. Preached in the settlement * of the great *Cove*, to a considerable congregation. This place is about twenty miles in length and three wide. The land is considerably broken, so that it will not accomodate a number of set-

* This place suffered greatly by the late war.

tlers in proportion to the extent of it: at present there are about fifteen families, who are desirous of, and willing, according to their circumstances, to support the gospel. They expect as many more people to settle near them. They propose joining *Cannogochauge*, and to build a house for worship as soon as they are able, being at present in the same difficult circumstances with other places exposed on the frontiers to the barbarous enemy. They choose that what assistance may be allowed them by the society, should be towards building a house for worship.—After sermon I rode to *Fort Littleton*, where I met with Mr. *Beatty*.

30th. *Saturday*. Sat out early this morning, in company with Mr. *Duffield*: breakfasted at Mr. *M' Connell's*, at the *Sideling* hill, (after riding ten miles) and having travelled ten miles more, we crossed the south branch of *Juniata* river. We proceeded to Mr. *Thomas Urié's*, where we refreshed ourselves, and fed our horses. Here we met with Mr. *Dougherty* from *Bedford*, who came in order to accompany and conduct us into that town. We arrived at *Bedford* in the evening, having travelled to-day about thirty-three miles, and lodged at Mr. *Dougherty's*, at his invitation.

31st. *Sabbath.* Preached in the forenoon to a large and attentive audience, assembled in a new house in the town. Mr. *Duffield* preached in the afternoon. Baptized several children.

1st. *September, Monday.* Preached at the desire of the people, who promised to transmit to us, on our return to *Carlisle*, by Mr. *Dougberty*, an account of their numbers, situation, &c.

2d. *Tuesday.* Sat out for *Fort Pitt*, being brought on our way by our friends *Messrs. Ormsby* and *Dougberty*. After riding about fifteen miles, we came to the foot of *Al-leg-b-ge-ny* mountain, and having fed our horses, we began to ascend the steep, which is two miles from the foot to the top of the mountain. We travelled about eight miles farther, along a bad road, to *Edmund's Swamp*, and lodged at Mr. *John Miller's* *.

3d. *Wednesday.*

* Here we met with one *Benjamin Sutton*, who had been taken captive by the *Indians*, had been in different nations, and lived many years among them.

He informed us, when he was with the *Chactaw Nation*, or *Tribe of Indians*, at the *Mississipi* river, he went to an *Indian town*, a very considerable distance from *New-Orleans*, whose inhabitants were of different complexions, not so tawny as those of the other *Indians*, and who spoke *Welch*.

He

3d. *Wednesday.* Sat out early this morning, having had but poor lodging, went about five

He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a *Welch* bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a skin, but that they could not read it; and that he heard some of those *Indians* afterwards in the *Lower Shawanaugh* town, speak *Welch* with one *Lewis*, a *Welchman*, captive there. This *Welch* tribe now live on the west side of the *Mississippi* river, a great way above *New-Orleans*.

Levi Hicks, before mentioned, as being among the *Indians* from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an embassy, in a town of *Indians*, on the west side of *Mississippi* river, who talked *Welch* (as he was told, for he did not understand them); and our interpreter, *Joseph*, saw some *Indians*, whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked *Welch*, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be *Welch*, as he had been acquainted with some *Welch* people.

Correspondent hereto, I have been informed, that many years ago, a clergyman went from *Britain* to *Virginia*, and having lived some time there, went from thence to *South-Carolina*; but, either because the climate did not agree with him, or for some other reason, resolved to return to *Virginia*, and accordingly set out by land, accompanied with some other persons; but travelling through the back parts of the country, which was then very thinly inhabited, supposing, very probably, this was the nearest way, he fell in with a party of *Indian* warriors, going to attack the inhabitants of *Virginia*, against whom they had declared war.

The *Indians*, upon examining the clergyman, and finding that he was going to *Virginia*, looked upon him and his

five miles to *Stony Creek*, and breakfasted. From thence we went to the foot of *Lawrel Hill*, eight miles;

companions as belonging to *Virginia*, and therefore took them all prisoners, and let them know they must die. The clergyman, in preparation for another world, went to prayer, and, being a *Welchman*, prayed in the *Welch* language, possibly because this language was most familiar to him, or to prevent the *Indians* understanding him.—One or more of the party of the *Indians* was much surprised to hear him pray in their language.—Upon this they spake to him, and finding that he could understand their speech, they got the sentence of death reversed—and thus this happy circumstance was the means of saving his life.

They took him back with them into their country, where he found a tribe, whose native language was *Welch*, though the dialect was a little different from his own, which he soon came to understand. They shewed him a book, which he found to be the *bible*, but which they could not read, and, if I mistake not, his ability to read it tended to raise their regard for him.

He stayed among them some time, and endeavoured to instruct them in the Christian religion. He at length proposed to go back to his own country, and return to them with some other teachers, who would be able to instruct them in their own language, to which proposal they consenting, he accordingly set out from thence, and arrived in *Britain* with full intention to return to them with some of his countrymen, in order to teach these *Indians* christianity. But I was acquainted, that not long after his arrival, he was taken sick and died, which put an end to his schemes.

miles; crossing which, we arrived at *fort Ligonier*, thirteen miles: in the evening, put up at some

Sutton farther told us, that among the *Delaware* tribe of Indians, he observed their women to follow, exactly, the custom of the *Jewiſh* women, in keeping separate from the rest seven days, at certain times, as prescribed in the *Mosaic* law: that from some old men among them, he had heard the following traditions—That of old time their people were divided by a river, nine parts of ten passing over the river, and one part tarrying behind; that they know not, for certainty, how they came first to this continent; but account thus for their first coming into these parts, near where they are now settled—that a king of their nation, when they formerly lived far to the west, left his kingdom to his two sons—that the one son making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart, and seek some new habitation—that, accordingly he sat out, accompanied by a number of his people; and that, after wandering to and fro, for the space of forty years, they at length came to *Delaware* river, where they settled three hundred and seventy years ago. The way, he says, they keep an account of this, is, by putting on a black bead of wampum every year since, on a belt they have for that purpose.

He farther added—That the king of that country, from whence they came some years ago, when the *French* were in possession of *Fort Duquesne*, sent out some of his people, in order, if possible, to find out that part of their nation, that departed to seek a new country; and, that these men, after seeking six years, came at length to the *Pickt* town, on the *Oubache* river, and there happened to meet with a *Delaware Indian*, named, *Jack*, after the *Engliſh*, whose

some sort of a public house, and waited upon the commanding officer, who invited us to spend the evening with him, which we accepted of.

4th. *Thursday.* Sat out, and rode twenty-five miles to *Busby Run*, where we put up†.

5th. *Friday.* Sat out early this morning, and rode to *Turtle creek*, eight miles, before breakfast; and riding eighteen miles more, we ar-

language they could understand; and that, by him, they were conducted to the *Delaware* towns, where they tarried one year, and returned—that the *French* sent a white man with them, properly furnished, to bring back an account of their country, who, the *Indians* said, could not return in less than fourteen years, for they lived a great way towards the sun-setting. It is now, *Sutton* says, about ten or twelve years since they went away.

He added, that the *Delawares* observe the feast of first-fruits, or the green-corn feast. So far—*Sutton*.

† This place is famous for a battle, fought the last war, with the *Indians*. The enemy attacked a pretty strong party of *British* and provincial troops, under the command of Col. *Boquet*, having a convoy with them, going to relieve *Fort Pitt*, then invested by the enemy.

The battle lasted part of one day, and was renewed the next, with great courage on both sides, and uncertain, till at last Col. *Boquet*, by a stratagem, drew the enemy into an ambuscade, and defeated them. Several of their great men were killed, and a number of ours also were killed and wounded: however, our troops got to the fort, and the enemy was obliged to raise the siege.

rived

rived at *Fort Pitt*, a little before night. We immediately waited upon the commanding officer, Capt. *Murray*, who received us politely, and introduced us to the Rev. Mr. *M^c Lagan*, chaplain to the forty-second regiment, part of which are now in garrison here.

6th. *Saturday*. Remained at *Pittsburgh*, and received much civility from the corps of officers here. They invited us to their table, and the commanding officer ordered us a room in the fort while we stayed. Mr. *M^c Lagan*, with some other gentlemen of the place, furnished us with blankets to sleep in, and some other necessaries, so that we fared as well as we could expect.

7th. *Sabbath*. At the invitation of Mr. *M^c Lagan*, preached in the forenoon, to the garrison in the fort, while Mr. *Duffield*, at the same time, preached to the people, who live in some kind of a town without the fort, to whom I also preached in the afternoon.—The audience were very attentive, and much engaged.

In the evening Mr. *Gibson*, a trader here, who speaks the *Indian* language, introduced an *Indian* to us, called the *White Mingoe*, the head man of his town. He was one of the six nations, who lives upon the *Allegh-geeny* river, four miles from the fort. We opened to him our design in

in coming to these parts, by Mr. *Gibson*, at which he appeared well pleased. We appointed to meet him and his people at a place on this side of the river, to-morrow, in order to speak to them about religion.

8th. *Monday*. Rained in the morning. We heard the *Mingoe Indian* did not return home to give his people notice of our coming to visit them, according to promise, and therefore have no prospect of speaking farther to him and his people about religion. Spent the forenoon in acquainting ourselves with the situation and disposition of the *Indians*, as far as we had any opportunity, either from such of the *Indians* themselves, who are come here to trade, or such as are best acquainted with them; and upon the whole we find nothing discouraging.*

9th. *Tuesday*.

* In the afternoon we crossed the *Mocconghebela* river, accompanied by two gentlemen, and went up the hill, the great hill opposite the fort, by a very steep and difficult ascent, in order to take a view of that part of it more particularly from which the garrison is supplied with coals, which is not far from the top. A fire being made by the workmen not far from the place where they dug the coal, and left burning when they went away, by the small dust communicated itself to the body of coals, and set it on fire, and has been burning now almost a twelvemonth entirely under ground,

9th. *Tuesday.* Having sought direction of heaven and the divine presence, we resolved to attempt a journey to *Kighalampegha*, an *Indian* town about 130 miles from hence. This place we fixed upon because it was most central to the other *Indian* towns, and because the king or head man of the *Delaware* nation lived there, whom it was necessary to consult before we attempted any thing among his people; and also because we were informed that the *Indians* there were consulting something about religion. We

ground, for the space of twenty yards or more along the face of the hill or rock, the way the vein of coal extends, the smoke ascending up thro' the chinks of the rocks. The earth in some places is so warm, that we could hardly bear to stand on it: At one place where the smoak came up we opened an hole in the earth till it was so hot as to burn paper thrown into it: The steam that came out was so strong of sulphur that we could scarce bear it. We found pieces of matter there, some of which appeared to be sulphur, others nitre, and some a mixture of both. If their strata be large in this mountain, it may become a volcano. The smoak arising out of this place appears to be much greater in rainy weather than at other times. The fire has already undermined some part of the mountain, so that great fragments of it, and trees with their roots are fallen down its face. On the top of the mountain is a very rich soil, covered with a fine verdure, and has a very easy slope on the other side that which we ascended, so that it may be easily cultivated.

desired

desired the *Indians*, who were returning home from the fort, where they had been trading, to let their people in their different towns know of our coming and design, and also to meet us at their head town.

We were much engaged this day in preparing for our journey, and received much assistance from the gentlemen of this place. Mr. *Gibson*, a trader here, who was taken prisoner last war by the *Indians*, and was adopted into one of their chief families, and was well respected by them; recommended us to one of the chiefs by a letter and a string of wampum beads, according to their custom in such cases, and sent by us some wampum as a particular present to one of them.

Mr. *Duffield* preached in the evening in the town to a considerable congregation, who appeared very attentive. From some things we observed, we have good reason to think our preaching here has not been in vain ‡.

10th. *Wednesday*.

‡ Our interpreter *Joseph*, who has been improving every opportunity in conversing with his countrymen the *Indians*, about the gospel, who are come here to trade, met with an *Indian*, who appeared to be a sober man, and expressed great satisfaction and pleasure on hearing of our going out to teach the *Indians* religion. He told *Joseph* that the great Spirit

10th. *Wednesday.* While we were much engaged in preparing for our journey, a person came to us under deep impressions, inquiring what he should do to be saved. After some conversation I gave him a book, but he besought me and insisted upon my writing something suitable to his case, and what might also be of service to others of his companions, to whom he intended to shew it: I complied with his request, and wrote as much as my time would any way admit of.

Spirit above, meaning God, had spoken or told an *Indian* in his heart last fall, (which is about a year ago) that this summer fall, two white men (for so they distinguished the *English*) should come and teach the *Indians* religion, and he added, he believed we were the men.

This morning he came to *Joseph's* lodging, in order to see, and, I suppose, to converse farther with him. We happening to be there at breakfast, he invited this *Indian*, who accordingly accepted the invitation. I desired our interpreter, after breakfast, to let him know the meaning of asking a blessing upon our food, and returning thanks for it. He replied, it was very fit that the great Being above should be acknowledged for his goodness to us, and that he and some others did so.

We heard that this man, and about eighteen or nineteen more *Indians*, or families, had separated from the rest, and lived in a town by themselves, called *Suka-bung*, in order to lead a more sober life, and that there they worshipped God, some way or other, as well as they knew how.

The commanding officer whom we waited upon, being ready to contribute every thing in his power to forward our designs, gave us a letter of recommendation, with a string of wampum, to the head men of the *Indian* tribes, inviting them likewise to return to their old towns up the *Alegb-geny* river. After a constant scene of hurry, we got ready and sat off about the middle of the afternoon, being accompanied down to the river side by our good friend Mr. *M^c Lagan*, and several other gentlemen, who have shewn us much kindness, and were greatly assisting to us. We crossed the *Alegb-geny* river in a canoe, swimming our horses along side of it. We then proceeded on our journey down the river *Ohio* about five miles, having on our right hand a high hill, and encamped upon the bank of the river about eight or nine o'clock, where we had plenty of herbage for our horses,—the night cloudy and dark.

11th. *Thursday*. Sat out in the morning, the weather dull and gloomy, and after travelling nine or ten miles, most part along the river side, we came to an old *Indian* town now deserted, called by the traders *Log-Town*, situated on a fine rich high bank, covered with fine grass, commanding a most beautiful prospect both up and down the river *Ohio*. We halted about noon to let our horses feed, then proceeded to

Great

Great Beaver creek about ten miles, which we crossed, and made up our fire on the rich high bank on the west side, which afforded our horses exceeding good pasture, equal to a meadow.— In the night there fell a heavy rain, which wetted us much, notwithstanding all our efforts to screen ourselves*.

12th. Friday. This morning dark and heavy, with small rain—our cloaths being wetted last night, made our condition not very comfortable. The clouds, after some time, beginning to break, we sat out, but were obliged to travel slow, the road, in many places, being hilly and all the way slippery, from the rain that fell last night, and to-day—in the forenoon we had several showers, in the hardest of which we endeavoured to shelter ourselves under the trees.

* Here the *Indians* had once a considerable town, but deserted it the last war, in order to get at a greater distance from the *English*.

The situation is very pleasant, the land being rich and level for a considerable way upon this river, encompassed at a distance by a rising ground, or small hill. A great part of this land that had been cleared, is now grown up again with small brush, or under-wood. The land we passed over yesterday and to-day, appears, in general, to be strong and good. The low land on the *Ohio*, and on the small rivers that empty into it, is very rich, and abounds with walnut timber.

After travelling about twelve miles, we came to the second *Beaver* river, which we crossed, and proceeded six miles farther to the third *Beaver* river, where we encamped, having but poor food for our horses: however, we were obliged to put up with it, not being able to reach any better place.

Joseph, our interpreter, who went on before us this morning, in order to hunt for us, returned without any thing, so that we had poor living for ourselves as well as horses: however, we had some bread, for which we had reason to be thankful. There fell some rain in the night, but not so much as to wet us through our fence which we had set up at our backs.

13th. *Saturday*. The morning cloudy; we sat out, but had not travelled far before a heavy shower, from the north-west, came upon us, from which we sheltered ourselves as well as we could under trees, as there was no thunder.— The weather clearing up after some time, we proceeded, and travelled to-day, as near as we could conjecture, about sixteen or seventeen miles. We halted upon a rising ground, and kindled up a fire, having a small spring of water on one side in a valley.

14th. *Sabbath*.

14th. *Sabbath.* We rested, and kept the sabbath as well as we could ; and, from a supposition that this was the first sabbath ever kept in this wilderness, we gave the place the name of *Sabbath-ridge*. It grew very dark and heavy towards evening. A number of *Indians* that live in *Tuskalawa*, being on their return from *Fort Pitt*, where they had been trading, came up to us a little before night, having about an hundred gallons of rum with them. They wondered we did not travel that day—we told them the reason. They encamped by us. Their head man seemed very reserved and distant—we, however, made ourselves as agreeable to him as we could. We took notice of some of them, particularly those who were sick—we made some tea, and sent it them, and a piece of cheese, (the last we had) with which they were pleased.

Our interpreter conversed with the head man, and some others of them that came to sit awhile with us at our fire. A very heavy rain came on in the night, which wetted us, notwithstanding the precaution we had taken to guard against it. The heaviness of the rain drove one of the *Indians* to take shelter under our fence, to which we made him welcome. Slept and waked the night away as well as we could.

15th. *Monday.*

15th. *Monday.* The rain continued the forenoon, so that we began to give up hopes of being able to travel to-day.

We visited the *Indians* who were sick, expecting to find them very bad, as they had been exposed to such a heavy rain; yet, to my surprise, I found a woman who appeared to be the worst last night, sitting up preparing some corn for breakfast, for the family. As they had no meat, two or three of the men went out to hunt in the morning, but returned without killing any thing, which was a disappointment to us as well as them, for we expected to have bought some venison of them.

The weather clearing up, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we decamped, and sat out in company with the *Indians*. Our interpreter, a little before night, went off from us on one side of the road, to look for a deer, as we wanted meat; while we proceeded with the *Indians*, about eight miles further, when we stopt, and made up a fire on a branch of *Tuskalawa* river.

As our interpreter did not come up with us before dark, it gave us some anxiety, lest he should have missed his way, and so have been lost in this vast wilderness, or have met with some unfavourable accident, so that we left car-
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ing for the venison, out of a greater care for him.

When I was just about lying down, without supper, our interpreter appeared with a young deer on his back, to our no small joy. We immediately divided the meat among the *Indians*, who were separated into three parties. We gave to each party a quarter, and reserved the other to our own use. This supply came seasonable to them as well as ourselves.

16th. *Tuesday.* Visited the *Indians*, our fellow travellers, this morning; who, after some free conversation about some affairs, respecting religion, began to be more open and affable, especially their chief man, whose reservedness and distance hitherto, I understood, was owing to a mistake, for he took us to be *Moravians*: for, whatever influence these people have had hitherto on these savages, yet their conduct, (it seems, of late) has been such, as to have given them great umbrage.

As soon as the *Indians* had got up their horses, we sat out in company with them. We crossed several branches, and one river much larger than the rest, which were all much swelled by the late heavy rains; and, having passed over two or three *Savannahs*, or plains, (some of which are two or three miles broad) we arrived

at

at *Tuskalawa* town, a little before night, having travelled to-day about twenty miles.

Our fellow traveller, the head man of this town, who was now become very friendly, invited us to tarry at his house. We accepted the favour, and were treated with a great deal of respect by him and his family, in their way. They brought us some green corn in the husk, and cucumbers, (the same they themselves lived on) which we thankfully received.—We roasted some of the corn, and eat the cucumber without salt or any thing, which would not have been very agreeable at another time. As we had saved a little piece of venison left last night, we made some broth in the evening, and gave part to our host and his family.

17th. *Wednesday.* Part of the family and some other *Indians*, being present this morning at worship, we desired our interpreter, after prayer, to explain it, and let them know, particularly, that we had prayed, and would pray to the great Spirit above for them, at which they appeared to be pleased. We took leave of our kind host, *Apa-ma-legh-on*, who sent a young man to bring us seven or eight miles on our way.

In passing through the lower part of this town, we observed *Indians* drinking, and some drunk, with the rum they had lately brought from *Fort Pitt*. In these circumstances they generally appear terrible, and behave like mad men: it is therefore very dangerous for white people to be with or near them at that time; however, we passed by unmolested, and crossed the west branch of *Tuskalawa* river, at the fording-place a little below the town, where it is about one hundred yards wide.

We travelled about ten miles west, near to a small river, called *Mogerit* creek: we followed the course of that river, which is near south, about five or six miles, then crossed where it is about fifteen or twenty yards wide. Proceeding about a mile farther, we encamped on the bank of the river *Muskingham*, which appears to be near one hundred or one hundred and twenty yards broad *.

* This country appears to abound with savannahs or plains, with little or no wood growing on them, and the farther westward the larger they appear to be. We passed over one to-day, that does not appear to be less than three or four miles in extent, to which we gave the name of *Squirrel* plain, from our having chased a squirrel on it, which at length we took, and it came in good season to make us some soup.

18th. *Thursday.* We sat out early this morning, intending, if possible, to reach the *Indian* town we proposed to visit before night. We travelled therefore, without halting, through excessive bad ways; the most part being nothing but swamps, or low wet ground, thickets, and deep gutters, for eighteen or twenty miles, till we came near the town, our course hitherto being chiefly south, inclining sometimes to the east and sometimes to the west.

We at last came in sight of the town, about three of the clock, ourselves and horses being much fatigued, we were very glad to have reached the place we had so long looked for, and, I trust, thankful to that gracious God, who had hitherto preserved and conducted us. We entered the town on one side, and at the first house to which we were providentially directed, lived a widow woman, a near relation of our interpreter's, whom he had not seen for many years, nor did he know where she lived. They both seemed very agreeably surprised on seeing each other so unexpectedly, and we could not help looking upon this event as a token for good. The woman very kindly invited us to tarry with her, and we accepted of her kindness. She presently made ready some venison, and baked cakes under the ashes, in their way, and sat before

fore us, which came very seasonable and acceptable.

As soon as our arrival in town was known, a number of the principal men came to see us, and took us by the hand, to whom our arrival here, so far as we could judge, appeared to be very acceptable.

After some conversation, we opened to them the design of our coming among them, and sent word to *Netat-wheh-man*, the king and head of the *Delaware* nation, or tribes, that we should be glad to know when we might wait upon him, in order to make him acquainted with our mission, and deliver our message.

We had a little hut assigned us by our land-lady, in which to put our things, and were furnished with some deer skins, thrown on the floor to sleep on, which was a much better way of lodging than we had hitherto found on our journey.

19th. *Friday*. We understood, that to-day, about one of the clock, we should have audience of his majesty, we therefore prepared for it as well as we could. One of the old *Sachems* accordingly was sent to inform us, that the king and his council were ready to receive us, and

hear what we had to say.—We went accordingly to the council house*.

As soon as we entered, the king rose from his seat, (which is not usual for him, or any of their great men to do, to any person that comes to see them) took us by the hand, and gave thanks to the great Being above, the creator and preserver of all, that we had opportunity of seeing each other in the wilderness, and appeared very glad and rejoiced on the occasion. We were then conducted to a seat near his majesty; the council sat some of them near him on the same platform, and others on the opposite side. After sitting awhile, according to their custom on the like occasions, I rose up, and delivered our speech, by the interpreter *Joseph*; then sat down,

* This house is a long building, with two fires in it, at a proper distance from each other, without any chimney or partition. The entry into it is by two doors, one at each end. Over the door a turtle was drawn, which is the ensign of their particular tribe. On each door-post was cut out the face of a grave old man, an emblem, I suppose, of that gravity and wisdom that every senator there ought to be possessed of. On each side, the whole length of the house, within, is a platform, or bed, five feet wide, raised above the floor one foot and a half, made of broad split pieces of wood, which serves equally for a bed, on which to sleep, and a place, on which to sit down. It is covered with an handsome matt, made of rushes, near the end of which the king sat.

all

all being silent for some minutes, and then after some conversation, not at all relating to our speech; we withdrew.

It is an invariable rule with the kings and councils of the *Indians*, when they receive an address, not immediately to return an answer to it, but to take time for mature deliberation, and reserve their reply to some future season.

The substance of what we delivered to the king and council is as follows: "First, a message from the commanding officer at *Fort Pitt*, informing them that their fathers, the *English*, concerned for them, and pitying their state of ignorance, sent now two ministers to ask them, whether they would embrace the christian religion, that they might see clearly, as we do, and that the evil spirit might not tempt them any more to what is wrong. That he expected they would treat these men, sent to them on such a good errand, well; and send their young men to hunt for them, and bring them back safe to the fort; and, that he wished they would put in execution what their agent and he, at the last treaty, had invited them to do; namely, to return back to their old towns, and there live, that they might be nearer their brethren, the *English*,

“ *list*, who might more easily send ministers to
“ teach them.

“ To the above we added, that in order to ex-
“ plain this matter more fully, and give them an
“ undoubted proof of our sincerity, in desiring
“ their welfare, we were farther to inform them,
“ that some years ago, our *Great Council* (for so
“ we called our synod) who met from different
“ provinces, once a year, to consult about religi-
“ on: did appoint two of their number to come
“ out to speak to them about the great things
“ of religion*; but that the war breaking out,
“ stopped up the path, and thereby prevented
“ their coming, for which we were very sorry,
“ and therefore prayed earnestly to the *great*
“ *God*, that the war, so hurtful to them and
“ us, might come to an end, and peace again

* Referring to Mr. *John Brainerd* and myself, who were appointed by the synod to visit them; but as we were preparing for our journey, the last war broke out.

Had we been among the *Indians* at that juncture, we had probably suffered either death or captivity; and therefore it appears a very kind interposition of Providence, that we were not set out upon our mission.

N. B. Mr. *Brainerd* is a missionary from the society for propagating christian knowledge in *Scotland*, and is now pastor to a congregation of christian *Indians* in *New-Jersey*.

“ be

“ be restored. That now the *great God* had
“ granted our request.

“ Our great council, therefore, again, at their
“ last meeting, thought of their poor brethren
“ the *Indians*, who were sitting in darkness, and
“ appointed us to come out to our brethren,
“ and to take you by the hand, and speak to
“ you about the things of *God*; and ask you
“ whether you would be willing to receive the
“ christian religion, and to have some ministers
“ sent among you, to instruct you in the gospel,
“ that we might all serve the same *great God*,
“ and become firmly joined together as one peo-
“ ple; that so all anger and strangeness of mind,
“ might be for ever done away; and that we
“ might be happy together *here*, and for ever
“ happy hereafter: and that, if it shall be a-
“ greeable to you, our brethren, we should be
“ glad you would return to your old towns,
“ that we might be near you, and so have fre-
“ quent opportunities of speaking to you about
“ the great things of the gospel.” — We then
gave them a string of wampum, according to
their custom.

In the evening *Tepiss-cow-a-hang*, and his sister,
both advanced in years, came to our house,
who both had formerly been in *New-Jersey*, at
the time of the revival of religion among the

Indians

Indians there, and had received some good impressions under the ministry of Mr. *David Brainerd*. They went afterwards among the *Moravians*, and were baptized by some of their teachers: however, for some time past, they seemed to have lost what impressions of religion they had.—They desired us to talk to them about religion, which I did some time, by the interpreter, particularly concerning backsliding; and pointed out to them, in the plainest manner I could, how they should come to God again, through the Lord Jesus Christ. I then prayed with them. They were both very much affected; and took leave of us, very affectionately, with tears running down their cheeks.

20th. *Saturday.* Five of the principal men came to our hut, about two o'clock in the afternoon: and, after sitting awhile, according to their usual custom, before they deliver any message, they returned our string of wampum, saying they could not understand it. We readily apprehended their meaning, so far as this, that they could not, consistently, or did not chuse to receive it, which made us begin to suspect matters to be taking a more unfavourable turn than we afterwards found there was any real reason for. However, be their design what it would, knowing that the hearts of all men are in

in the hands of God, we kept a good countenance, determined to do the best we could as to our mission.

We then told them, we were sorry they had not understood, and would again explain it, which we did accordingly, giving them back the string of wampum, which they held in their hand a little while, and again returned it, saying, "their great man, meaning their *king*, "could not understand it," whereupon we put it up. At the same time they told us, we must not be discouraged, and then taking out a string of wampum, of two single threads and one double one, they proceeded to speak on the two single strings, one of which was *white*, the other a mixture of *black* and *white*, and told us as follows :

" Our dear brothers, What you have said, " we are very well pleased with, as far as we can " understand it.—But, dear brothers, when " *William Johnson* spake with us, some time " ago, and made a peace, which is to be strong " and for ever, he told us, we must not regard " what any other might say to us. That though " a great many people, all round about, might " be speaking a great many things ; yet we " must look upon all these things only, as when " a dog sleeps, and he dreams of something,

“ or something disturbs him, and he rises hastily
 “ and gives a bark or two, but does not know
 “ any thing, or any proper reason why he barks
 “ —and just so the people all round, that may
 “ be saying, some, one thing, and some, ano-
 “ ther, are to be no more regarded, and there-
 “ fore, they cannot understand, or hear any in
 “ any other way *.

On the double string they said,
 “ Dear brothers, Some time ago, *George*
 “ *Croghon* spake to us, that no other were to be
 “ regarded; but that, as *William Johnson*, and
 “ he, should say, so we should do.”

* The *Indians* make great use of similes, particularly, in their public treaties, and some of them very apt and striking, though they may appear uncouth to such as do not understand their language and customs. Sir *William Johnson*, who perfectly understands their genius and customs, took this simile, it is likely, from them, as most fit to answer his purpose, *viz.* To guard them against holding treaties with other nations, or private persons, that might be tampering with them.

We began now to understand, that the reason of their returning our string of wampum, and refusing to treat with us in that form, was, that they looked upon it as inconsistent with the treaty of peace they had entered into with Sir *William Johnson*, or, lest it should give umbrage to him; they not understanding the difference of treating with them about civil, and about religious affairs. This difference we took pains to explain to them afterwards.

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They then brought out, and shewed us a large belt of wampum, of friendship, which Sir *William Johnson* gave them.

This belt, they told us*, he held by one end, and they by the other; that when they had any thing to say, they must go along that path (meaning the white streak on the belt) to him; and that, when he had any thing to say to them, he must come to that council-fire, (referring to the diamond in the middle of the belt) and there speak to them.

To this they added—They believed there was a great God above, and desired to serve him in the best manner they could, and they thought of him at their rising up, and their laying down, and hoped he would look upon them, and be kind to them, and do them good.

* Belts of wampum, given on such occasions, as solemn pledges or ratifications of the *Treaty*, have some emblem or representation of the nature of such *Treaty*, in order, it is like, the better to keep them in mind of it.

On each edge of this, given to them by Sir *William*, were several rows of black wampum; and in the middle, several rows of white wampum, running parallel with the black; the white streak between, they called the path from them to him, and him to them. In the middle of the belt was the figure of a diamond, made of white wampum, which they called the council-fire.

After a little pause, some conversation ensued, wherein they told us, we must not at all be discouraged by any thing that had passed in the business we came upon, but wait with patience. We replied we were not discouraged, as we saw the propriety of what they said, and desired they would consult, and let us know whether it would be agreeable that we should speak to them about religion, on the morrow, which was the *Sabbath*. They then withdrew.

About four o'clock, two of the council returned, and gave our interpreter, *Joseph*, a belt of wampum, with a speech; the purport of which, was to invite the christian *Indians* in *New-Jersey*, under the care of the reverend Mr. *John Brainerd*, to come to *Qui-a-ha-ga*, a town the king and some of his people here had lived in, about seventy miles north-west of this place, where, as they said, there was good hunting, and where they might have a *Minister* with them, and all the *Indians*, who desired to hear the gospel, as they gave us to understand there was a number of such, might then go and settle with them.

This proposal shewed the good disposition of the *Indians* to the reception of the gospel among them, as all *Indians* from every quarter, who might be desirous to be instructed in

in christianity, would have a town most conveniently situated, to which they might repair for that purpose. It appeared to be a kind and excellent provision for the free enjoyment of a gospel-minister, in case some of their great men should themselves reject and discountenance the preaching of it in the towns where they resided.

These men also told us, in answer to our request, that they would gladly hear us to-morrow, and be well pleased that their people would attend, again repeating to us, that we should not be discouraged. After some free conversation, wherein they appeared very agreeable and cheerful, they invited us to visit any of them in their houses in town, either now, or at any other time we should think proper.

We told them, we should be glad if to-morrow was observed as a day of rest among them; and that we should have something more to say to them before we took our leave. Taking us by the hand, a mark of their respect, they withdrew.

We considered matters over this evening, and endeavoured to commit the affair to God, and look to him for direction and assistance.

21st. Sabbath. This morning* *Samuel*, otherwise, *Tepiff-cow-a-hang*, who is one of the chief men of the council, went to all the houses in the town, to give them notice, that we were to speak to them to-day, at the council house, about religion.

At eleven o'clock, or a little after, one of the council came to our hut, in order to conduct us to the *Council House*, where his majesty lives. A considerable number both of men and women attended.

I began divine worship by singing part of a psalm, having previously explained the general drift and meaning of it to them. (Psalmody, by the way, is exceeding pleasing to the Indians) I then prayed, and the interpreter repeated my prayer to them in their own language.

* This morning, being retired to the woods, I was at some loss how to speak to these benighted heathens, who had never yet heard a sermon. After looking to God for direction, I considered the practice of the inspired apostle, *Paul*, the great doctor of the gentiles, who preached Christ immediately to them as well as to the *Jews*. I resolved to follow his example, as it was in this way of preaching the blessing of success was to be expected.

I then

I then preached to them from the parable of the prodigal son, Luke, xv. 11. By way of introduction, I gave some short account of man's primitive happy state—then of his fall—how all mankind were concerned therein, and affected by it—and that, this the bible taught us, and sad experience and observation abundantly confirmed. I then illustrated our sad condition, particularly by the prodigal son, and shewed what hopes of mercy and encouragement there were for us to return to God, the father, through Christ, from the striking example before them, delivering so much at a time as the interpreter could well retain and deliver exactly again, making things as plain as possible, using such similes as they were well acquainted with, in order to convey a more clear idea of the truth to their minds. There was a close attention paid by most of the audience to the truths that were delivered, not only as they might appear to them, new and striking, as I hoped, but as matters of the greatest importance, and infinitely interesting. Some, more especially the women, seemed really to lay things to heart.

After sermon was over, we sat a-while with them. We then proposed to speak to them again in the afternoon, if it was agreeable. We were told it would. We then withdrew.

About

About three o'clock, the *King* was up in town, and told us, he would have his people together as soon as he went home, and would then send us word. Accordingly a messenger was sent to us for that purpose in a little time after, with whom we went to the place of meeting, where Mr. *Duffield* preached from 1 Cor. xv. 22. giving just a plain narration how all became dead in Adam; and how all true believers were made alive, and entitled to life eternal in and through Christ.

The people appeared to be much engaged, and well pleased with the word, as though they desired truly to know these things, and we have great reason to hope, there have been some good impressions made on their minds to day — some of them appeared very solemn and affected. After sermon we sat a-while, according to their custom after delivering any speech, and then returned to our hut.

Our interpreter, who tarried a-while after us, among them, at his return, told us, that all their leading men, and especially the *King*, desired we would speak to them again on the morrow, which message we received joyfully, and would bless God for any hope of success.

This day, till after evening sermon, as far as we could observe, had so much the appearance of

of a sabbath in this town, that it truly surprised us, and made us thankful to God for such a favour; scarce any noise being to be heard in the place, except the women pouncing corn for their food, as is their daily custom. Upon the whole, things appeared agreeable; and there is a blessed prospect of these poor benighted savages receiving the gospel, had they an opportunity of its being faithfully and prudently preached among them, insomuch that we could not but once and again think of our Lord's remark, *that the fields appeared white, and ready for the harvest.*

God knows what he designs; but surely there is a glorious appearance of an effectual door being opened in these parts, if it be not neglected. A serious thoughtfulness about the great affair of religion, and a diligent attention to the word preached among them, seems to prevail with a number of these poor savages.

In the evening several came to our lodging, and sat and heard, while I told them about the bible and the great things it contains. They appeared very grave and attentive. Among these was *Neolin*, a young man, who used some time past to speak to his brethren, the *Indians*, about their wicked ways, who took great pains

with them ; and, so far as we can understand, was the means of reforming a number of them.

I enquired what put him upon this practice ; and he told us, that, about six years ago, when alone in his hut or cabin, musing by himself, being greatly concerned on account of the evil ways he saw prevailing among the *Indians*, a man immediately appeared, and stood in his cabin door, while he sat by the fire alone, in the night, and was perfectly awake, and spoke to him in the following manner : “ These things “ you were thinking of are right, (referring to “ the miserable condition of the *Indians*, which “ he was thinking of) and all who follow evil “ ways and bad thoughts, shall go to a misera- “ ble place after they are dead. — But all they “ who hate all evil and live agreeable to the “ mind of God, shall, after death, be taken up “ to God, and be made happy for ever.”

Having thus spoken, he said, the man immediately disappeared, but that the man’s speech made such an impression upon him, that he could not help speaking to the *Indians*, and endeavoured to persuade them to leave their evil ways *.

It

* The above is the substance of what he declared to us, We were well informed by a trader, (to whom he related a good

It also deserves our observation, that the old man, *Tepiss-cow-a-hang*, otherwise *Samuel*, before mentioned, was, from our first coming here, greatly assisting in forwarding things respecting religion. The old man's heart seemed much engaged, and he spared no pains.

He told our interpreter, that in case the *King* did not speak about religion, before we went away, that is, as we supposed he meant, if he did not invite, and encourage us to return again to preach to them, that he would himself.

22d. *Monday*. As we were informed that there was a young woman, one *Elizabeth Henry*, a prisoner yet among the *Nation*; and as we had desired Mr. *Gibson**, a trader, who is well

good deal more, respecting his extraordinary mission) who was taken prisoner the last war, by the *Indians*, given to this *Neolin*, and adopted into his family—That this man used to boil a quantity of bitter roots, in a large kettle, till the water became very strong—that he himself used to drink plentifully of this bitter liquor, and make his family, and particularly this prisoner do the same—that draughts of this liquor proved a severe emetic—and, that dose was taken after dose for some hours together; the end of which, as *Neolin* said, was to cleanse them from their inward sins. Poor endeavours of the light of nature! How needful, how salutary the knowledge of the gospel!

* Mr. *John Gibson*, is the trader mentioned in the preceding note, as taken prisoner, given to *Neolin*, and adopted

well acquainted, and has considerable influence with these *Indians*, to mention the affair, among other things in his letter to them, which we read to a number of the principal men, who came to our hut in the forenoon ; we accordingly desired the king to order the above young woman to be delivered to us, that we might take her to her relations.

The king replied, “ He was very well pleased with every thing his brother, *John Gibson*, had said, and would send the prisoner, by us, to her relations, (had she been with, or near them) but that she was at a considerable distance, at a town upon the *Great Beaver* creek, or river, about a day’s journey from *Fort Pitt*. However, that we should take the string of wampum, which *Mr. Gibson* had sent him, (returning it to us) and give it to the great man of that *Town*, who would instantly deliver her up to us.

About four o’clock in the afternoon, the *King*, (the head man of this nation) and, with him, *Tepiss-cow-a-bang*, *Ke lagh-pa-mahnd*, *Tuny-e-baw-la-we-band*, and *Negb-kaw-leegb-bung*, principal men of the council, came to our hut, and addressed us in the following manner :

adopted by him.—He became hereby related to the king and several great men,

“ Our

“ Our dear brothers, What you have said to
 “ us (referring to our preaching yesterday) we
 “ are well pleased with. We believe there is a
 “ great God that has made us, the heavens, and
 “ the earth, and all things.

“ Brothers, you have spoken to us against
 “ getting drunk—What you have said is very
 “ agreeable to our minds.—We see it is a thing
 “ which is very bad ; and it is a great grief to
 “ us, that *Rum*, or any kind of strong liquor
 “ should be brought among us, as we wish the
 “ chain of friendship, which now unites us and
 “ our brethren (meaning the *English*) together,
 “ may remain strong. But,

“ Brothers, the fault is not all with us, but
 “ begins with our brothers, the *white* people ;
 “ for if they will bring out rum, some of our
 “ people will buy it ; they must buy it ; it is
 “ for that purpose it is brought : but, if none
 “ was brought, then they could not buy it.
 “ And, now,

“ Brothers, we beseech you, be faithful, and
 “ desire our brothers, the *white* people, to bring
 “ no more of it to us. Shew this *Belt* to them
 “ for this purpose, (at the same time holding
 “ forth a large *Belt* of *wampum*) shew it to the
 “ great man of the fort (meaning the com-
 “ manding officer of *Fort Pitt*) and to our
 “ brothers

“ brothers on the way as you return: and to
 “ the great men in *Philadelphia* (meaning the
 “ principal men in the government) and in other
 “ places, from which rum might be brought
 “ and intreat them to bring no more. And,
 “ now,

“ Brothers, there is another thing we do not
 “ like, and complain of very much. There are
 “ some (meaning *white* people) who do at times
 “ hire some of our *Squaws*, (that is, their women)
 “ to let them lie with them; and give them rum
 “ for it. This thing is very bad. The *Squaws*
 “ then sell the rum to our people, and make
 “ them drunk.

“ We beseech you, advise our brothers a-
 “ gainst this thing, and do what you can to have
 “ it stopped.”

After having delivered their speech, they gave
 the belt of wampum, and desired us to take
 down, in writing, what they had said, that we
 might not forget any part of it; for, that it was
 a matter about which they were much con-
 cerned. After some friendly conversation they
 withdrew.

In the evening, old *Tepiss-cow-a-bang* came
 and informed us, that there were a great many
 here, and at another town, called *Suk-a-bung*;
 and likewise at other towns that were desirous to
 hear

hear the gospel ; and that they intended to go up next spring to *Qui-a-ha-ga**, and there make a large town, and then try to get a minister among them. He informed us also, that there were three other *Nations* or *Tribes*, viz. the *Chippaways*†, *Puttcotungs*, and *Wyendots*, that live near the *Lake*, that is, *Erie*, who discovered a great desire to hear the gospel. I told him I understood that these tribes used to hear the *French* ministers preach, who worshipped God in something of a different way from us, and therefore, perhaps, would not hear us. He replied, that he was persuaded, and that he knew, if a minister of our way would go out among them, it would be very agreeable to these *Nations*, and that many of them would join us. In short, the old man appeared much engaged in this matter.

* This place had been inhabited by some of the *Indians* in the town where we now were. It is situated on a river (navigable for canoes and flat-bottom'd boats) that empties into the lake *Erie*. *Qui-a-ha-ga* is about a day's journey from *Tuskalawa* town, which we were at, as before mentioned.

† The *Chippaways* are supposed to be fourteen or fifteen hundred in number ; all in one town. The *Puttcotungs* are considerable, as to number, in another town. The *Wyendots*, about seven hundred persons, are likewise one town, which is about sixty or seventy miles distance from *Qui-a-ha-ga* the intended *Delaware* christian town.

This

This day has been so much taken up, by the chief men in council, about important affairs and doing business, that there was no time for sermon. The *King* therefore proposed that it should be to-morrow, before we sat out on our journey.

23d. *Tuesday.* The head men met in council this morning.—Between eleven and twelve o'th' clock, we attended at the council house for public worship, and found a considerable number convened for that purpose. I spoke from the parable of the gospel-feast, Luke xiv. 16, and in my discourse pursued the following method, namely, that there were rich provisions made in the gospel for poor sinners. I then opened the nature of these provisions, and the reason of their being compared to a marriage and royal feast.—I next shewed that the ministers of the gospel were sent out to invite poor miserable sinners, the lame, &c. to this feast. I spoke of the excuses that some made for their not coming. — I then shewed how any were brought to comply with the gospel call, and then concluded with invitations and arguments to persuade them to come to the Lord Jesus Christ: all which particulars I treated in the most plain and easy way, making use of such similes as the *Indians* were most acquainted with, and best adapted, so far as I could

I could judge, to convey a clear idea of the truths on which I discoursed, to their minds. A solemn awe appeared on the face of the assembly. Every one seemed attentive to the things that were spoken, and a number were affected.* The interpreter was so much affected himself, that he could scarcely speak for some time; and, indeed, I must own, my own heart was warmed with the truths that I delivered, and the remarkable effects they appeared to have upon these poor benighted *heathens*.—Blessed be God!—Let all the praise be to him. We have reason to hope, no one opportunity we have enjoyed *here*, has been in vain; and we trust, that the good impressions that appear to have been made, will remain and issue well with some of them. May the Lord grant our labours and hopes may not be found vain!

As we had signified to some of the *Council* that we had something to say to them before we departed. Four of the principal men came to our hut in the afternoon, in order to hear what we had to communicate. We addressed them in the following manner:

* The print representing *Paul* preaching at *Athens*, gives a lively idea of these poor *Indians*, when hearing. All were attentive, many seemed to be astonished, and some attending in the most devout manner.

I

“ Dear

" Dear brethren, As we are soon to set out on
 " our way home, we have a few things to say
 " to you before we go. We are glad, and thank
 " the *great God*, that brought us out and kept
 " us by the way, that we might visit our bre-
 " thren in this place, and that we have had an
 " opportunity of spending some time with you,
 " and speaking to you about the great things
 " that concern another world. We are glad
 " that we have had so comfortable a meeting
 " with you; and thank our brethren for all their
 " love and kindness to us.

" Brethren, It gives us great pleasure and sa-
 " tisfaction, to find our brethren holding so fast
 " that *Chain* of friendship which our good bro-
 " ther, Sir *William Johnson*, made with you,
 " and we hope, and pray it may ever continue
 " to unite us together as one people.

" Brethren, We are much rejoiced to see you
 " so earnestly set against those things that are
 " bad, and especially against the drinking of
 " strong liquors, which opens a door to so many
 " evil things. We have carefully attended to
 " what you said to us yesterday concerning that
 " matter: and although, as we told you, our
 " *Council* (meaning our synod) does not med-
 " dle with civil government, but consults only
 " about the great things of religion: yet we do,
 " by

“ by this string (a string of wampum) assure
 “ you, that we will faithfully deliver the mes-
 “ sage you have committed to us. We will tell
 “ our great men and our people, what you have
 “ said, and will use our best endeavours to have
 “ your desires, in this thing, fulfilled, as far as
 “ lies in our power. And, now,

“ Brethren, by this string of wampum, We
 “ bid you *farewell*; and we pray the *great God*
 “ to be with you, and to bless you, and to lead
 “ you in the way which is right: and when we
 “ are gone we will pray for you; and when you
 “ shall at any time desire it, we will endeavour
 “ to have some of our brethren sent out to you
 “ again, to tell you more about the great and good
 “ things, of which we have spoken to you.”

Here we gave the string of wampum, agreeable to their custom, which they accordingly received, and laid up as a mark of friendship, and appeared very well pleased on the occasion.

To one of these men, who had learned in his youth to read a little *English*, I gave a bible* I had with me. He cheerfully accepted this invaluable treasure. To a woman, who could also read, I gave a little book, intitled A compassion-

* It was a bible from the society in *London* for promoting religious knowledge.

ate Address to the Christian World, and they proposed to lend their books to another.*

Upon the whole, there really appears a strange, nay, a strong desire prevailing in many of these poor heathens, after the knowledge of the gospel, and the things of God, and a *Door*, as we before observed, to be effectually opening, or, rather, already opened for carrying to them the glad tidings of salvation, so that, if now proper measures were vigorously pursued, there is much reason to hope, that the blessing of God might attend and crown attempts of this kind with success.

This evening *Neolin* came to see and sit with us a-while, and desired to hear something about the *Christian Religion*.—I desired Mr. *Duffield* to speak to him, who accordingly told him something concerning the promises of a *Saviour, Jesus Christ*, that had been given of old, and recorded in the book of *God*, and how, according to these promises, Christ came. He then gave him a short summary of the way that a sinner is

* This man and woman, who could read, were born in *New-Jersey*, among the *English*. Either his parents, or, more likely, some well disposed persons of the *English*, I suppose, put the man to school. The woman being born in that congregation of christian *Indians*, under the care of Mr. *David Brainerd*, learned to read. Both these went back, when they grew up, among the wild *Indians*.

brought

brought to have an interest in this Saviour, and of the change that is wrought in him, and that by the spirit of God ; and pointed out to him the effects it produces in a person towards God, his laws, his ways, &c. and that these effects are marks and evidences of an interest in Christ, and the promises. He appeared very attentive, and much pleased to hear these things. When we had done, he affectionately took us by the hand, and withdrew, telling us, if he could, he would see us again in the morning.*

* Some of the *Indians* observing us consulting a map of the country, which we had with us, in order to find out the best and most direct way to *Fort Pitt* ; one of them went to his house, and brought a map of his own, or some other *Indian's* drawing, wherein the lakes, rivers, towns, where different tribes or nations live, council-fires, that is, where the different tribes meet, in order to consult about their public affairs, and other remarkable places, seemed pretty justly laid down, all things considered. On the back of *Lake Superior*, I observed a very considerable river running a different course from the rest (its course seemed to be near N. W.) By this it should seem as if there must be some great lake or sea to the north or north-west of these parts, which has not yet been discovered, into which this river empties itself. The *Indian* that pointed out to us these places on his map, said, where this river was, or near it, was very cold ; that is far north. — Perhaps, by following the course of this river, that passage, which has been long sought for, to the south-seas, by the north-west, might be found out.

We

We understand by our good friend, *Tepiff-cow-a-bang*, otherwise *Samuel*, that there are about forty-seven *Indians* here, who have had some considerable impressions made on their minds by our preaching, the *King* and *Neolin* being among the number; the latter, as before mentioned, who had been, according to his light, in time past, endeavouring to instruct his brethren, the *Indians*, attended upon us privately, as well as publicly; with a desire to know more about religion; and almost all the young *Indians* expressed a great desire to learn to read.

The principal men of this town sent an invitation, by our interpreter, *Joseph*, to the *Indians* living pretty high up on *Susquehanah* river, in a town called *Wia-lusing*, to move with their families to *Qui-a-ba-ga*, where they intend to form the christian town, before mentioned, having heard that these *Indians* have some knowledge of christianity, as well as those under the care of Mr. *Brainerd*, that they might see and know how christians live.

In the evening, twenty persons came to the house of *Tepiff-cow-a-bang*, under religious impressions, who expressed their concern at our leaving them, and wondered we should go away so soon.

We

We should have been willing, and very desirous to have tarried a longer time in this place, as there is such an agreeable prospect of a number of these poor benighted savages being brought to embrace the gospel; but our time appointed by the synod being near expired, and we not being any way provided for continuing longer here, having scarcely as much meal left as would be sufficient to support us till we arrived at *Fort Pitt*; and the principal design of our appointment to visit them; in order to know what prospect there might be of introducing the gospel amongst them, having been answered, we determined to return; and the rather, as we had no prospect, had we continued longer, of assembling many of them together, for it was the time when they begin their fall-hunting, upon which their living chiefly depends, a number of them already having gone out of town last night on that design; so that, upon the whole, it appeared most advisable and clear to be our duty, all things considered, to return; and, accordingly, with the leave of Providence, we determined to set out on our journey on the morrow.*

24th. *Wednesday.*

* This town (the proper name of which is *Negb-ka-un-que*, that is, the *red Bank*, being called so from the colour of

24th. *Wednesday.* Neolin came this morning to see us, and bring us on our way. We sat out
on

of the bank of the river, on which it is built) is about one mile and a half in length, consisting of sixty or seventy houses, built chiefly on the south-side of the river *Muskingham*, and contains about six or seven hundred persons, as far as we could learn. In some parts of the town the houses stand pretty close to each other; in other parts at a greater distance and irregular.—Some of the houses are made of broad split pieces of wood, with one end stuck in the ground close to each other, standing up like a stockade; others are made of logs of wood laid upon one another, notched at the corners into each other; but the most of them are made of bark, set up on edge, tied to stakes drove in the ground, and all covered with bark, except the king's house, which is covered with broad split pieces of wood, with their ends set to the ridge of the roof, so close together as to keep out the rain, and appears very neat. The houses are in general much longer than they are wide, with a door at each end, which they close or shut by setting up a piece of broad bark. Two or three families live in some houses, and in cold weather have two or three fires in them at proper distances, but no chimney. The land on each side of the river is a rich soil, but especially the north-side, where they chiefly plant their *Indian* corn, or maize, beans, pumpkins, &c. The river at the town appears to be considerably more than one hundred yards wide, and runs near west; but lower down turns southward, and keeps much that course, as far as we could learn, till it empties itself into the *Ohio*, and is navigable for canoes or flat bottom'd boats. The *Indians* sometimes go from hence to *Fort Pitt* in their canoes.

The

on our journey, by a different way to *Fort Pitt* than that we went, accompanied by an *Indian* belonging to the town, called by the *English*, Capt. *Jacob*,† a great warrior, who appeared to have some impressions of religion.

After travelling up the bank of the river *Muskingham*, about three miles, through rich level

The land, the way we came to this place from *Fort Pitt*, appeared to be very good in general, but uneven, having many high ridges and small castles, yet abounding with low rich land, usually called *Bottom*; the little streams running through these bottoms, are generally very crooked and narrow, with deep and steep banks, owing to the richness of the soil. The nearer we approached to this place, we found the country more level; and, to the west and northwest of it, at some distance, the country, we are informed, becomes quite level, and has very great plains, on which there is no wood, but fine grass, and therefore plenty of deer. Some of the *Indians* of this town are just come in from hunting, on one of these plains, which they say is one hundred miles broad, and about four days journey from hence: another, ten days journey from hence, is vastly large, like the sea, the *Indians* say; I suppose, they mean one of the great lakes. The climate here seems to be healthy.

† The king and some of his council intended to have accompanied us back to *Fort Pitt*; but, hearing the deputy-agent for *Indian* affairs, was to be in the town in eight days, they were prevented.

land: we crossed the river at a fording-place, and travelled with as great expedition, as our circumstances would admit, with a view, if possible, to reach *Fort Pitt*, by *Saturday* night, in order to preach to the people there. We had not travelled many miles before there came on a very heavy rain, which continued all the afternoon, and wetted us pretty thoroughly, as we had no place of shelter, which obliged us to stop a little before night at a small river, where was some food for our horses, and with difficulty we got a fire kindled.—The ground and the blankets we had to lie on, as well as our cloaths, being wet, made our lodging not very comfortable. However, we wrung the water out of some of our cloaths, and endeavoured to dry them by the fire, and so passed the night as well as we could.

25th. *Thursday.* Sat out this morning, as early as we could, the weather cloudy, but not much rain.

My horse and baggage horse tired in the afternoon, though we had now little provision for him to carry, and notwithstanding we had walked some part of the way in order to ease them. We encamped a little before night, at the best place we could find for our horses, made up a

fire

fire as usual, and got our cloaths pretty well dried.

26th. *Friday.* Proceeded on our way. My horse being very weak, I was obliged to travel a good part of the day on foot. Our cloaths were again wet with the rain in the afternoon, but the night being pretty fair we got our cloaths tolerably well dried by the fire.*

27th. *Saturday.* Arose before day, (as we have done every morning since we sat out on our journey, having no great inducement to keep our beds) and took a little of what we had for our breakfast. We sat out at day-light on our way, in order to make as good a days journey as possible, as we had now but little provision. Capt. *Jacob*, our companion now in travel, went off the road to hunt for us, but returned without any thing. Having a little meal made of *Indian* corn, parched, I took a spoonful or two of it, mixed with water, and drank it, and was enabled to travel on foot to-day about twenty-five miles. We met several *Indians*, who told us (upon inquiring of them) that *Elizabeth Henry*, the prisoner before mentioned, whom we had

* The most part of the way we came hitherto, was hilly, and had high ridges, and some part much incumbered with trees fallen down, which made it fatiguing for man and horse.

demanded of the king, was married to an *Indian*, and went sometime ago with her husband to hunt, one hundred miles distant from the town, where she had been prisoner ; so that she was entirely out of our reach.

In the afternoon we met an *Indian* with a deer on his back that he had killed, part of which we bought and carried with us. This came very seasonable, as we had little for our supper.

A little before night we arrived at the *Great Beaver* creek, much fatigued, finding our utmost efforts to reach the fort this week in vain, being twenty-five miles from it. We made our fire on a pleasant bank of the river, having near half a mile to go for our fire-wood. We dressed our venison for supper, part of which we gave to an *Indian* chief* and his family, whom we found encamped here. I signified great desire to be at the fort to-morrow, time enough to preach in the afternoon ; but having no horse able to carry me there in that time, Capt. *Jacob*

* The *Indian*'s wife seeing us carry our fire wood so far on our shoulders, took her hatchet, cut and brought us, in a little time, a great burthen of wood on her back, and threw it down by our fire, she not only pitying us, but thinking it a great scandal, I suppose, to see men doing that, which is properly the work of their women.

very

very freely offered his, which was pretty strong, and I thankfully accepted his offer.

28th. *Sabbath.* Arose before day. Mr. *Dufield*, by the fatigue of the journey, together with wet weather, was taken very ill last night, so that I was afraid to leave him in such a situation; but he insisted on my going to the fort according to my proposal, to preach to the people.

After we had taken the remains of our venison, we had dressed last night, and meal made into some cakes, I parted with my company by daylight, crossed the *Beaver* river, and made the best of my way, (going on foot up and down hills to ease my horse)* and arrived at the river *Ohio*, opposite to the fort, between twelve and one o'clock. I crossed the river in a canoe, swimming my horse along side.

In the afternoon I preached to a considerable number of people, assembled in the little town

* On the road I overtook an *Indian* woman with three or four children, going to *Fort Pitt*. She was cracking walnuts, and feeding her children with the kernels.

When she saw me, she signified that she and her children were almost famished with hunger. To relieve her distress, as far as I was able, I gave her a small bit of bread, I had saved from my breakfast, to eat upon the road, which she took and divided among her children, to their no small joy.

near

near the fort. Having made known the distress Mr. *Duffield* and our company were in, for want of food and proper refreshments, a young man went to them with some bread and other necessaries.

29th. *Monday.* Was glad to see Mr. *Duffield* (considerably recovered from his illness) and the rest of the company safely arrived at the fort. Having given notice of sermon this evening, Mr. *Duffield* preached.

30th. *Tuesday.* Waited on the commanding officer in the fort, in order to deliver a message to him from the king *Netat-whelman*, that I was charged with, concerning the *Indian* trade.

1st. *October, Wednesday.* Capt. *Jacob*, the *Indian*, who accompanied us to this place, came to see us, went with us a little way, then took an affectionate leave, and expressed a considerable concern at parting with us. It being late in the day before we could get ready to set out on our journey, we were obliged to travel some time in the night, in order to reach an house where we lodged.

2d. *Thursday.* Sat out early.—Reached *Fort Ligonier* about dark, which is about fifty-four miles from *Fort Pitt*.

3d. *Friday.* Mr. *Duffield* preached to a small number of people, living in and about the

the fort. Sat out on our journey after twelve o'clock. After we had travelled about five miles, we came to the *Laurel* hill, which we crossed. We were obliged to travel eight or nine miles in the night, to *Stoney* creek, in order to accomplish our design of reaching *Fort Bedford* to-morrow evening, where we had sent notice of our intention to preach next *Sabbath*. Our lodging, on account of a number of people being in the house, going to *Fort Pitt*, was not very agreeable.

4th. *Saturday.* Sat out in the rain this morning. It both rained and snowed in the afternoon, which made it very uncomfortable travelling over the *Allegh-eny* mountain. We arrived at *Bedford* a little before dark, (which is one hundred and five miles from *Fort Pitt*.) I was much indisposed, owing to the cold and wet of the day, and travelling some part of the night before. We lodged at Mr. *Dougherty*'s.

5th. *Sabbath.* Was much out of order last night, but much better this morning, and enabled to preach one part of the day. Mr. *Duffield* preached the other.

6th. *Monday.* As I was preparing to preach this morning, I was seized with a fit of the ague. Mr. *Duffield*, therefore, preached in my room.

7th. *Tuesday.*

7th. *Tuesday.* Sat out from *Bedford* on our journey, being tolerably well, and reached a public house, at the foot of *Sideling* hill, in the night.

8th. *Wednesday.* Arose early, in order to proceed on our journey, but was soon obliged to go to bed again, being seized with a bad fit of the ague. We being much solicited to preach at the *Cove*, a congregation about ten miles distance from hence, Mr. *Duffield* went and preached to them.

About twelve o'clock, my fever began to abate, when I arose, and sat out on my way with the interpreter, and with great difficulty travelled about sixteen miles.

9th. *Thursday.* Resolved to take the nearest way to *Carlisle*, by the *Path-Valley*.—Accordingly we sat out. We had not gone many miles before we ascended a very steep mountain. A great part of the road this day, was mountainous, and very rugged, which, with the weakness of our horses, obliged us to travel on foot some part of the way.

We got to a house near a small river, in the evening, where we lodged.

10th. *Friday.* Was taken very bad with the ague this morning before day. The fever began to abate about nine or ten o'clock, when we sat

sat out on our journey. I travelled with great difficulty.

Losing our way, we, after some time, came in sight of a house; and, being much fatigued, I lay down at the root of a tree while the interpreter went to the house to enquire the way, when, being directed the road, we proceeded to a public house, where I lay down a little while to rest me. Arrived at *Carlisle* in the evening, much fatigued.

This town is ninety-six miles from *Bedford*. Here I got some bark, which I began to take that night. Lodged at Col. *Armstrong*'s.

11th. *Saturday*. Mr. *Duffield*, returned to his own house in this town, last night. I sat out with the interpreter about eleven o'clock, crossed *Susquehanna* river, and lodged at a public house.

12th. *Sabbath*. This morning I found the bark had taken the desired effect, in some good measure, as I felt but very few of the symptoms of the ague. I went to Mr. *Roan*'s congregation, where the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered. I preached, at the desire of Mr. *Roan*, in the afternoon; and, after sermon, we went to one of his people's houses, where we lodged very agreeably.

13th. *Monday.* We proceeded on our journey; and I arrived safe, through the goodness of God, at my own house on *Wednesday*, having travelled one hundred and nineteen miles from *Carlisle*, and three hundred and twenty-five from *Fort Pitt*.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

*A Copy of a Letter sent to the Rev. John Erskine,
D. D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.*

Greenock, Feb. 27, 1768.

Rev. and dear Sir,

WITH this you will receive the journal I promised to send you, of a mission to the *Indians*, living about four hundred and fifty miles west of *Philadelphia*; previous to which you will see some account of our frontier inhabitants, that, perhaps, may not be disagreeable after so desolating a war. However, this you can pass by, if you please, with such other things therein, as you will find foreign to the principal object in view, and only taken notice of for our own satisfaction, or amusement. As the conversion of these poor benighted heathens has been long, I am persuaded, a matter which you earnestly desired and prayed to God for, so any prospect of it must afford you proportionable satisfaction, and be still a further encouragement to pray, and hope, that the time to favour them

is not far off, when those heathens shall be given to the Son of God for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth, even of *America*, for his possession.—May God fulfil his promises, and our joys!

I have before hinted to you, that since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, I had taken pains to search into the usages and customs of the *Indians*, in order to see what ground there was, for supposing them to be part of the *Ten Tribes*: and I must own, to my no small surprise, that a number of their customs appear so much to resemble those of the Jews; that it is a great question with me, whether we can expect to find among the *Ten Tribes* (wherever they are) at this day, all things considered, more of the footsteps of their ancestors, than among the different *Indian Tribes*.

The conduct of the *Indian* women, in certain circumstances, seems to be in a manner perfectly agreeable to the law of *Moses*. A young woman, at the first appearance of the catamenia, immediately separates from others, makes up a hut for herself, at some distance from the town, or house she lived in, and remains there during the whole time of her disorder, that is, seven days. The person who brings her victuals, is very careful not to touch her; and so cautious

is she herself, of touching her own food with her hands, that she makes use of a sharpened stick, instead of a fork, with which to take up her venison, and a small ladle or spoon for other food.—When the seven days are ended, she bathes herself in water, (usually in some neighbouring brook or river) washes all her clothes, and cleanses the vessels she made use of during her menses.—Such as are made of wood, she scalds and cleanses with lye, made of wood ashes; and such as are made of earth or iron, she purifies by putting them into the fire: she then returns to her father's house, or the family she left; and is, after this, looked upon fit for marriage, and not before. A woman, when delivered of a child, is separated likewise for a time.

I have been at a place in *New Jersey*, more than once, called, in the *Indian* language, *Crof-week-sung*, that is, the house of separation, which took its name, no doubt, from its being a noted place for that purpose. Near this was formerly an *Indian* town.

The *Indians* observe the feast of first-fruits: and, before they make use of any of their corn, or fruits of the ground, twelve of their old men meet; when a deer and some of the new corn are provided, the venison is divided into twelve parts,

parts, according to the number of the men ; and the corn, beaten in a mortar, prepared for use, by boiling, or baking it into cakes under the ashes, is divided into the same number of parts with the venison ; then these men (if I forget not) hold up the venison and corn, and pray, as they term it, with their faces to the east, acknowledging, I suppose, the goodness and bounty of heaven to them : and, perhaps, in this prayer, seek to God, in some manner, for a blessing on their first-fruits : the venison and corn, prepared, are then eaten by those present ; after this, they make use of their corn and other fruits of the earth freely.

Another public feast they have in the evening, which looks somewhat like the passover, when a great quantity of venison is provided, with other things, dressed in their usual way, and proportions thereof distributed to all the guests, of which they eat freely that evening ; but that which is left, is thrown into the fire and burned, as none of it must remain till the sun rise the next day, nor must a bone of the venison be broken.

Once in the year, some of the *Tribe* of *Indians* choose, from among themselves, twelve men, who provide twelve deer ; and each of them cuts a small pole, from which they strip

the

the bark, and make a tent, by sticking one end of the poles in the ground, bending the tops over one another, and covering the tent with their blankets.—Then the twelve men choose each of them a stone, which they make hot in the fire, and place them together, I suppose, in some form of an altar, within the tent, and burn the fat of the inwards of the deer thereon. At the time they are offering, the twelve men in the tent, cry to the *Indians* without, “ We pray, or praise ! ” Who answer “ We hear.” Then the men in the tent cry, Ho—ah ! very loud and long, which appear to be somewhat like in sound to hallelujah. After the fat is thus offered, some tribes burn tobacco, cut fine, upon the same stones. Some nations or tribes, choose only ten men, who provide ten deer, ten poles, and ten stones, &c.

Their customs of consulting their *Pow-waas* (a kind of prophets, who pretend to have converse with spirits) upon any extraordinary occasions, either of great, or uncommon sickness, or mortality, &c. seems to be in imitation of the Jews of old, inquiring of the prophet.

There is one *Tribe* of *Indians*, called, *Nanti-cooks*, that, on their removal from their old to new habitations, carry the bones of their ancestors and deceased relations with them. I am well assured

assured that some of the *Indians* will not eat the hollow of the thigh of the deer, but cut off that part and throw it away.

It is a great fashion with them to wear bracelets of wampum (a kind of bead, made of a black sea shell, which they have instead of money) on their arms: and I have frequently seen a bead hanging to the bridge of their nose; and almost all wear a kind of mock jewels in their ears, composed of such things as they like: they make great use of bear's oil, with which they anoint their heads and bodies. They have an avenger of blood among them, who is the man nearest related to the murdered, who pursues the homicide, and takes his life wherever he finds him.

No people in the world, perhaps, have a higher sense of liberty than the *Indians*; and, consequently, are more jealous of it, many of them preferring death to either captivity or slavery. They have a great disposition for war, and are far from being destitute of courage, however they may be looked upon by some to be dastardly, because their manner of fighting in the woods, and maxims of war are so different from ours, and indeed most other nations; yet, whoever truly considers their situation and circumstances, must own their art of war is best calculated

culated for them. *Britain* now, as well as *America*, knows, by experience, that they are far from being contemptible enemies, when one hundred of them have courage enough to attack, and, perhaps, are a match for a thousand *British* troops in the wilderness, unacquainted with their manner of fighting. None among them are of much account, or admitted to their war-dances, that have not been at war; and according to their behaviour and warlike exploits, they are esteemed and promoted in their way. The testimonies they give of their bravery, are the scalps and prisoners of their enemies, which they bring home.—Were not the *Jews* of old remarkable for their courage, and high sense of liberty?—And was it not customary, in the days of *Saul* and *David*, to bring home testimonies of the number they had slain in battle, not very dissimilar from the scalps of the *Indians*.

A christian *Indian* informed me, that an old uncle of his, who died about forty years since, related to him several customs and traditions of the *Indians* in former times; and, among others, that circumcision was practised long ago by them; but, that their young men, at length, making a mock of it, brought it into disrepute, and so it came to be disused.

The same person likewise told me, that the *Indians* had a tradition, that once the water overflowed all the land, and drowned all the people then living, except a few, who made a great *Canoe*, (which is a kind of boat, made of a large tree, hollowed out, and commonly used by them) and were saved in it.

Another tradition he heard, was, that a long time ago, the people went to build a high place to reach up a great way; and that, while they were building it, they lost their language, and could not understand one another; that, while one, perhaps, called for a stick, another brought him a stone, &c. and that, from that time, they (the *Indians*) began to speak different languages.

There seems to be a tradition among some of the *Indians*, respecting the bible, and the way how they came into *America*.

A sober intelligent *Indian*, inquired of an *English* trader, when in one of the *Indian* towns, whether the *English* had not a book (meaning the bible) among them; and, being informed that they had, the *Indian* told the *Englishman*, that, that book was once, or long ago, theirs; and that, so long as they kept it, and acted according to it, their God was kind to them, and they prospered: but that the white people, (which is a general

a general name they call other nations by, that are white) at length, bought it of the *Indians*, whereby they learned a great many things, and prospered ; while the *Indians*, on the other hand, began to decline from the time they sold it ; and that their God being very angry with them for parting with this book, left them, and then other nations began to use them very ill, so that they were exposed to many hardships, and suffered many things at their hands : but, however, that their God, at length, taking pity on them, brought or directed them to this country of *America* ; that, on their way to it, they came to a great water ; that one of the *Indians*, who went before them, tried the depth of it by a long pole or reed, which he had in his hand, and found it too deep for them to wade.— Upon their being nonplussed, and not knowing what way to get over it, their God made a bridge over the water in one night, by which they passed over safe ; and that next morning, after they were all over, God took away the bridge.

The same *Indian* represented the future state of good and bad men, to the trader, in this manner ; that all the *Indians*, who were good, when they died, went in one or two days, to a fine pleasant place, where there was prepared every thing that was good to eat and drink, and to

give sweet repose or rest, and that when they awaked from sleep, they found another different course, consisting of a great variety of things, most pleasant and agreeable to the taste, and that in this pleasurable manner they spent their beings; but that such as were bad, i. e. did bad things, when they died, went in one or two days to a very bad place, which he represented as the most disagreeable—the very reverse of the other—where they were as miserable as the others were happy, having nothing to eat or drink, though very hungry, without any enjoyment of rest by sleep.

In these and other particulars, dear sir, I believe you will observe, with me, a strong resemblance between the ancient *Jews* and *Indians*; to which, I might have added some peculiarities of less note, but I am unwilling to tire your patience. Permit me only to add, that all the customs and traditions above, are not to be found among every tribe of *Indians*; nor, perhaps, is the same usage or custom observed by every *Indian* of the same *Tribe*.

I am, reverend dear sir,

With great regard,

Your affectionate bumble servant,

C. BEATTY.

A Copy

A Copy of a Letter from the Christian Indians, under the Care of the Rev. Mr. John Brainerd, in New Jersey, to their Brethren the Delaware Tribes, to the Westward of Alegh-geny River, in Answer to a Message and Invitation, sent by Joseph, our Interpreter, to go back and settle among them, (dated, February, 1767) which Message, &c. is mentioned in this Journal.

To the Chief of the Delaware Tribes of Indians, and all that reside at Ke-la-mip-pa-ching, on the other Side of Alegh-geny.

“ Brothers,

“ **Y**OU sent us a message by our friend
“ **J**oseph Peepy, with a belt of wampum,
“ which we have returned by him, according to
“ your order, with these strings, which he will
“ deliver to you at a proper time.

“ Brothers, You tell us we sit near a great
“ water, where we are in danger of being
“ drowned; and you take us by the hand, and
“ lead us, and set us down at *Qui-a-ha-ga*, where
“ we may have good land, hunting and fishing
“ plenty,

“ plenty, and where we may sit down quietly
“ and worship God.

“ Brothers, We thank you in our hearts, that
“ you take so much care of us, and so kindly
“ invite us to come to you ; but we are obliged
“ to tell you, that we do not see, at present,
“ how we can remove with our old people, our
“ wives, and our children ; because, we are not
“ able to be at the expence of moving so far ;
“ and our brothers, the *English*, have taken us
“ into their arms, as fathers take their children,
“ and we do not think we ought to go without
“ their consent, and indeed we cannot go with-
“ out their assistance and protection.—We have
“ here a good house for the worship of God,
“ another for our children to go to school in ;
“ besides our dwelling houses, and many com-
“ fortable accommodations—all which we shall
“ lose if we remove.

“ We have also a minister of Christ to in-
“ struct us in all our spiritual concerns, and lead
“ us to heaven and happiness, which are of more
“ worth to us, than all the rest. Now, when-
“ ever these difficulties can be taken out of our
“ way, we shall chearfully embrace your kind
“ friendly offer ; in the mean time we desire,
“ the path between you and us may be kept
“ open,

“ open, and hope that some of us shall be able
“ soon to make you a visit.

“ Brothers, You tell us, you behold us from a
“ great distance, at our devotions, and desire to
“ join us.

“ Brothers, We are very glad you have such
“ good desires.—Certainly the great Spirit above
“ has given you these desires. We also should
“ be very glad to have you with us in our holy
“ devotions, but our land *here* is so narrow, that
“ we cannot expect you will leave your wide
“ rich country, and come to us; but we ra-
“ ther think, that, after some time, we may be
“ able to order things so *here*, as that a number
“ of us may come to you, if not all.

“ Brothers, You tell us, you wonder none of
“ us have been so kind as to make you a visit,
“ and inform you what we have met with, and
“ desire we would now tell you.

“ Brothers, We have not been altogether neg-
“ ligent in this matter; some of us have gone
“ several times to *Wioming*, and other parts of
“ *Susquebanah*, to inform our Brothers there, of
“ the good things which the Lord has made
“ known to us; and some of us, who were
“ at *Lancaster*, with our minister, when the
“ last council-fire was kindled there, would
“ gladly

“ gladly have informed all the *Indians* thereof,
 “ what we had learned about the christian way,
 “ and now also we are chearfully willing, with
 “ all our hearts, to let you know what we have
 “ found and met with.

“ Brothers, We have found how we may
 “ escape everlasting misery, and be made per-
 “ fectly happy for ever and ever.

“ Brothers, It is made known to us, and we
 “ are sure that our bodies, which now die and
 “ turn to dust, shall be raised again at the last
 “ day of the world, and that our souls shall
 “ then be united to them, and we shall be alive
 “ again as we are now, and live for ever, never
 “ to die more; and that it shall be so with the
 “ whole race of mankind.

“ We have also learned, and do know that
 “ some of our fellow men, will be put into a
 “ place of the most dreadful torment; from
 “ which they will never be able to get out,
 “ but must bear intolerable pains and tortures
 “ for ever more, while others shall be made as
 “ happy as a creature can possibly be, and this
 “ happiness to last for ever.

“ Now, Brothers, We have learned what we
 “ must be, and what we must do to escape this
 “ world of misery, and obtain this place of hap-
 “ piness,

“ pines, and we wish that you and all the *In-*
“ *dians* every where, knew it as we do.

“ Brothers, We have learned, and are sure
“ that the *great God* has sent his Son into this
“ world to redeem us from our sins, and from
“ this miserable place, and to make us ho-
“ ly and happy; and, that for this end, his
“ Son gave up his life, and suffered himself to
“ be put to death; and that the only way for
“ us, or any of mankind, to escape this dread-
“ ful misery, and obtain this perfect happiness,
“ is to be good christians, to forsake all our
“ wicked ways, and keep all God’s holy com-
“ mandments, and be as much like Christ as we
“ possibly can, and depend on him alone for the
“ pardon of all our sins, and for every spiritual
“ blessing.

“ Brothers, We have learned the whole of
“ our duty. We know what will please God,
“ and what will displease him; what will bring
“ us to happiness, and what will make us mis-
“ erable; and so now, if we are not for ever
“ happy, it will be our own faults. But, alas!
“ though we know all this, we are not so good
“ as we should be. We have also learned to
“ pray, sing psalms, and some of us can read
“ and write.

N

“ Brothers,

“ Brothers, What we have now told you of,
“ is the substance of what we have learned; but
“ we cannot, on this little peace of paper, tell
“ you every thing particularly.

“ Brothers, You tell us, you desire we should
“ come, that we might teach you the christian
“ way, and how you also may come to be
“ happy.

“ Brothers, We wish to do this with all our
“ hearts, so far as it is in our power, and are
“ sorry you are so far from us.

“ Brothers, We have learned many good
“ things, 'tis true, and should be very glad to
“ see you, and talk with you, as brethren; and
“ some of us might teach you to sing psalms,
“ and to read and to write; but are not fit to
“ be ministers: nor are we called to that high
“ office. Ministers are men that the great God
“ calls to preach the gospel, and to teach man-
“ kind what they must do to be saved.—And
“ when they preach, they speak in God's name:
“ from such, we received the gospel; and all
“ other *Heathen* people, that have been made
“ *Christians*, have been made so by the preach-
“ ing of God's ministers. Two such men, we
“ are informed, you had with you last summer;
“ and we do not doubt, that, if you desire it,
“ they,

“ they, or some others, will visit you again, at
“ which we shall very much rejoice.

“ Brothers, We have heard our minister say,
“ he has a great concern for you ; and though
“ we always want him at home, yet we should
“ be willing to part with him awhile, that he
“ might teach you, and do you good, as he
“ has done us. He has lived with us many
“ years, and we know him to be a good friend
“ to the *Indians*, and that he seeks their best
“ good.

“ Brothers, We wish you all good ; that you
“ may have good ministers to take you gently
“ by the hand, and lead you safe to heaven and
“ happiness : and that you might obtain this
“ great good, we think it might be well for
“ you to speak to Sir *William Johnson*, who
“ you know is the person the great king *George*
“ has appointed to speak to the *Indians*, and
“ we do not doubt he would be willing to help
“ you.—He might also, perhaps, so order mat-
“ ters, that we, after some time, might re-
“ move to you, and be very happy in your
“ country.

“ Brothers, We desire to commit you, and
“ all that concerns you and us, to the great God,
“ who made all things.

“ We pray, that he would take you under his
“ particular care, and that you and we may so
“ know him, and his Son Jesus Christ, as that
“ we may meet in heaven, and be happy with
“ him for ever more.

“ *We are your sincere Friends,*

“ *And loving Brothers,*

“ *Signed,* THOMAS STORE,
 JOSEPH MEECHY,
 STEPHEN CALVIN,
 ISAAC STILL,
 JACOB STAKIT.”

Further

Further Remarks respecting Indian Affairs.

THE conversion of the *Indians* in *America* is, undoubtedly, an object worthy of the greatest attention, especially as the christianizing would be the most effectual way of civilizing them: for the scheme of leading the savages into a civil state, previous to instructing them in the knowledge of christianity, however plausible it may have appeared to those unacquainted with their customs and manners, yet hath been found (to the best of my knowledge) utterly impracticable; for their prejudices are as great against the laws and customs of civilized nations, as against christianity itself; and therefore till such time as they come to be solemnly impressed with a sense of their miserable heathenish state, and acquainted with the nature of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and the immense advantages accruing thereby to their precious and immortal souls, they will pay little regard to the arguments made use of in favour of a civil state, which they look upon as a state of bondage and downright slavery.—The accounts we have had hitherto of the success of the gospel among them, make this observation concerning

concerning them, abundantly evident; for as soon as any of them became true converts to christianity, they then, but not till then, began to see the necessity and benefit of a civil government.

The success of the gospel among the *Indians* has been signal and various.—Great pains have been taken since the first settlement of *North America*, with different tribes and nations, at different times, to bring these poor benighted heathens, not only to the speculative, but also the experimental knowledge of the true God and his son Jesus Christ; particularly by some eminent ministers, who went from *Great Britain* with the first settlers of *New England*. That great man of God, the reverend Mr. *John Eliot*, who was called the *Indian* apostle, laboured indefatigably many years among the *Indians*, learned their language, translated the bible, and several pious tracts into their tongue, and, it pleased God to crown his labours with his divine blessing, for the conversion of many souls.

“ Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, son of an excellent minister of that name, says, The reverend Dr. *Chauncy*, [in a late letter to his friend, after giving an account of the labours and success of the reverend Mr. *Eliot*] “ began “ in another part of the province, the work of “ gospelizing

“ gospelizing the infidel natives, so far back as
 “ 1642, and this good work has been carried
 “ on by one or another of this family, from that
 “ day to this.

“ In 1657, many hundred *Indian* men and
 “ women were added to the christian societies in
 “ this part of the country, of such as might
 “ be said to be holy in their conversation, and
 “ that did not need for knowledge to be taught
 “ the principles of the oracles of God.

“ In the year 1689, the *Indian* church, un-
 “ der the care of Mr. *John Maybew*, son of the
 “ above *Thomas*, consisted of above one hun-
 “ dred communicants, walking according to the
 “ rule of the scriptures.

“ The reverend Mr. *Experience Maybew*, [says
 the same writer] “ son of the fore-mentioned
 “ *John*, a gentleman of such superiour natural
 “ endowments, that, had he been favoured on-
 “ ly with common advantages, would have been
 “ ranked among the first worthies of *New En-*
 “ *gland*, and who spent a life protracted several
 “ years beyond eighty, in the service of the *In-*
 “ *dians*, in the year 1727, published an octavo
 “ volume, entitled *Indian Converts*, in which
 “ he has given an account of the lives of thirty
 “ *Indian* ministers, and about eighty *Indian* men,
 “ women,

“ women, and young persons, within the limits
 “ only of *Martha's Vineyard*, an Island in *Massa-*
 “ *chusetts* province: and of these, (as he was
 “ a gentleman of established reputation, both
 “ for judgment and veracity) it may be chari-
 “ tably said, that they were real converts to the
 “ faith of Christ, and some of them in a distin-
 “ guishing degree, clearly evidenced it by their
 “ manner of life, which was such as may make
 “ many *English* professors blush.

“ In the attestation to his accounts, signed by
 “ eleven *Bostonian* ministers, some of whom are
 “ now alive, it is said, that they, who may ig-
 “ norantly and imperiously say nothing has been
 “ done, may be confuted; whilst those who are
 “ desirous to see something that has been done,
 “ may be entertained and gratified, (the attes-
 “ tators add) here is now exhibited a collection
 “ of examples, wherein the glorious grace of
 “ our great Redeemer has appeared to, and on
 “ the *Indians of New England*. It must not be
 “ imagined these are all that could have been
 “ collected; for all these are selected only from
 “ one Island. The author of this history, Mr.
 “ *Experience Maykew*, is a person of incontesta-
 “ ble veracity: we again say, his truth may be
 “ relied on—his fidelity is irreproachable.

“ The

The same Dr. Chauncey adds, "There is at this day, within the province of the *Massachusetts Bay* only, sixteen ministers, *English* and *Indian*, (statedly labouring, either as pastors of so many *Indian* churches, or as preachers to assemblies of *Indians*, that meet together for divine worship) nine *English* lecturers, and seven stated school-masters, besides occasional ones. And there are at a settlement, called *Massape*, two hundred *Indians*, under the care of the reverend Mr. Hawley, who know no God beside the everlasting *Jehovah*, and statedly pay worship to him through the one mediator *Jesus Christ*."

But to come to things within my own knowledge ; the reverend Mr. *David Brainerd*, born in *Connecticut* in *New England*, and educated in *Yale College* of the same colony, my intimate acquaintance and friend, spent many of his last years in gospelizing several tribes of the *Indians*, both in the provinces of *New Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*. Being of too tender a frame to sustain the hardships to which he was exposed, and too eagerly set upon the work to quit it, he fell a martyr to the glorious cause. A journal of his labours and success among the *Indians* was published by himself in his life-time, entitled *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, or the rise and progress of

O a remarkable

a remarkable work of grace among a number of the *Indians* in the provinces of *New Jersey* and *Pensylvania*.

Some of these *Indians* I have conversed with, when they were first awakened out of their dark state of heathenism, and brought under a religious concern for their souls, as well as afterwards, when they obtained some clearness and satisfaction about the safety of their state; and have since preached to them several times. This worthy minister was succeeded by his brother, the reverend Mr. *John Brainerd*, who is still pursuing the same laudable design.

I have now, in my hands, a catalogue, containing the names of *Indians* belonging to the *Nanaganset* tribe in *New England*, in number about three hundred and fifteen. Mr. *Samuel Drake*, who has furnished the catalogue, and also wrote an account concerning them, and who has lived fourteen years among them as a schoolmaster, says, "That he believes, in the judgment of charity, that in the above number of " *Indians*, there are seventy real christians: that " about sixty of them have entered into covenant with God and one another, as a church " of Christ, and are determined to follow the " lamb of God whithersoever he goes: that " they are also agreed in the articles of faith " contained

" contained in the apostles creed : that on *Tuesday*, *Thursday* and *Saturday* evenings, they
 " constantly meet together to sing and pray to
 " God ; and that, in their devotions, their af-
 " fections seem to be surprisingly drawn out :
 " that they are not fond of receiving any into
 " church fellowship, but such as can give some
 " good account of their being born again, re-
 " nounce their heathenish practices, subject
 " themselves to the ordinance of baptism, and
 " embrace the above articles of faith : that
 " they steadily maintain religious worship in
 " their families : that, once in four weeks, they
 " have a meeting on the *Thursday*, preparatory
 " to the communion : that, on the Lord's day
 " following, they celebrate the Lord's supper ;
 " and that, at certain sacramental seasons, he
 " has thought that the Lord Jesus seemed as it
 " were to be evidently set forth before them :
 " that if, at any time, any of their brethren re-
 " turn to their former sinful practices, the rest
 " will mourn over them as though their hearts
 " would break : that, if their backsliding bre-
 " thren repent of their sin, and manifest a de-
 " sire to walk again with the church, their re-
 " joicing is equal to their former mourn-
 " ing : but that, if no fruit of repentance ap-
 " pears, after they have mourned over them for

“ several meetings, they bid the offender fare-
 “ wel, as though they were going to part to
 “ meet no more, and with such a mourning as
 “ resembles a funeral. I have been, says, my
 “ worthy informer, at several such meetings,
 “ and there has been such a lamentation in the
 “ assembly, when they were obliged to part
 “ with a brother, as a heathen man or a publi-
 “ can, that even the before-obstinate sinner
 “ would be so affected, as to appear inwardly
 “ in pain for sin, and continue to cry to God
 “ for mercy, till he was delivered from his load
 “ of guilt, and admitted into fellowship with
 “ the church again.”

My informant farther says, “ That this reli-
 “ gious concern began among those *Indians* a-
 “ bout twenty-six years since; and that their
 “ minister is one of their own number, Mr.
 “ *Samuel Niles*. He adds, that now many of
 “ their children are able to read the New-Testa-
 “ ment to their parents.”

There are several other tribes of *Indians* in
New England, not far distant from this same
 tribe, that have received the christian religion;
 a number of whom, as I am very credibly in-
 formed, in the judgment of charity, give evi-
 dences of their being real christians, and have
 occasional communion with those of the *Nana-*
ganset

ganset church, particularly about thirty or forty of the *Mobigon Indians*, of which tribe the reverend Mr. *Occum*, a person now well known in *England* and *Scotland*, is one; of the *Pequet* tribe, about twenty; of the *Nebantick* tribe, some few, six or seven; both these *Indian* tribes live in the colony of *Connecticut*. There are also some of the *Stony Town* tribe, that have occasional communion with the *Nanagansets*, and about fifteen or sixteen of the *Montawk* tribe of *Indians*, who live upon the east end of *Long Island*, and for several years had the reverend Mr. *Horton* to preach among them; these sometimes cross the *Sound*, a great water, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances.

Such have been the endeavours of the *New Englanders*, and such the success vouchsafed them in evangelizing the *Indians*; to which I might add, the present very laudable and disinterested attempts of the reverend Dr. *Wheeler*, in setting up an *Indian* school, to furnish those poor benighted heathens with ministers and school-masters, as well to instruct them in all the arts of agriculture and civil life, as the great things pertaining to God; an undertaking that hath met with remarkable encouragement, particularly in the very large collections which have lately

lately been made in *Great Britain* for its support, and the countenance and patronage of those very respectable and worthy gentlemen, who have condescended to become a board of trust for the distribution of the said monies.

I would only beg leave to subjoin my earnest and most importunate wishes; that whoever hereafter may be stirred up, and employed in the great work of evangelizing the *Indians*, may, like their forementioned worthy predecessors, approve themselves able ministers of the New Testament, be truly pious, and exemplary christians, holy in all manner of conversation and godliness.—Otherwise, I am well persuaded, that the best preaching will be so far from having any salutary influence upon the *Indians*, that they will rather become more hardened in their native heathenism, by the vicious and unholy lives of such as attempt to profelyte them to the religion of Jesus, but yet exhibit in their temper and conduct, nothing of the purity of the gospel, or disposition and practice of its divine author.

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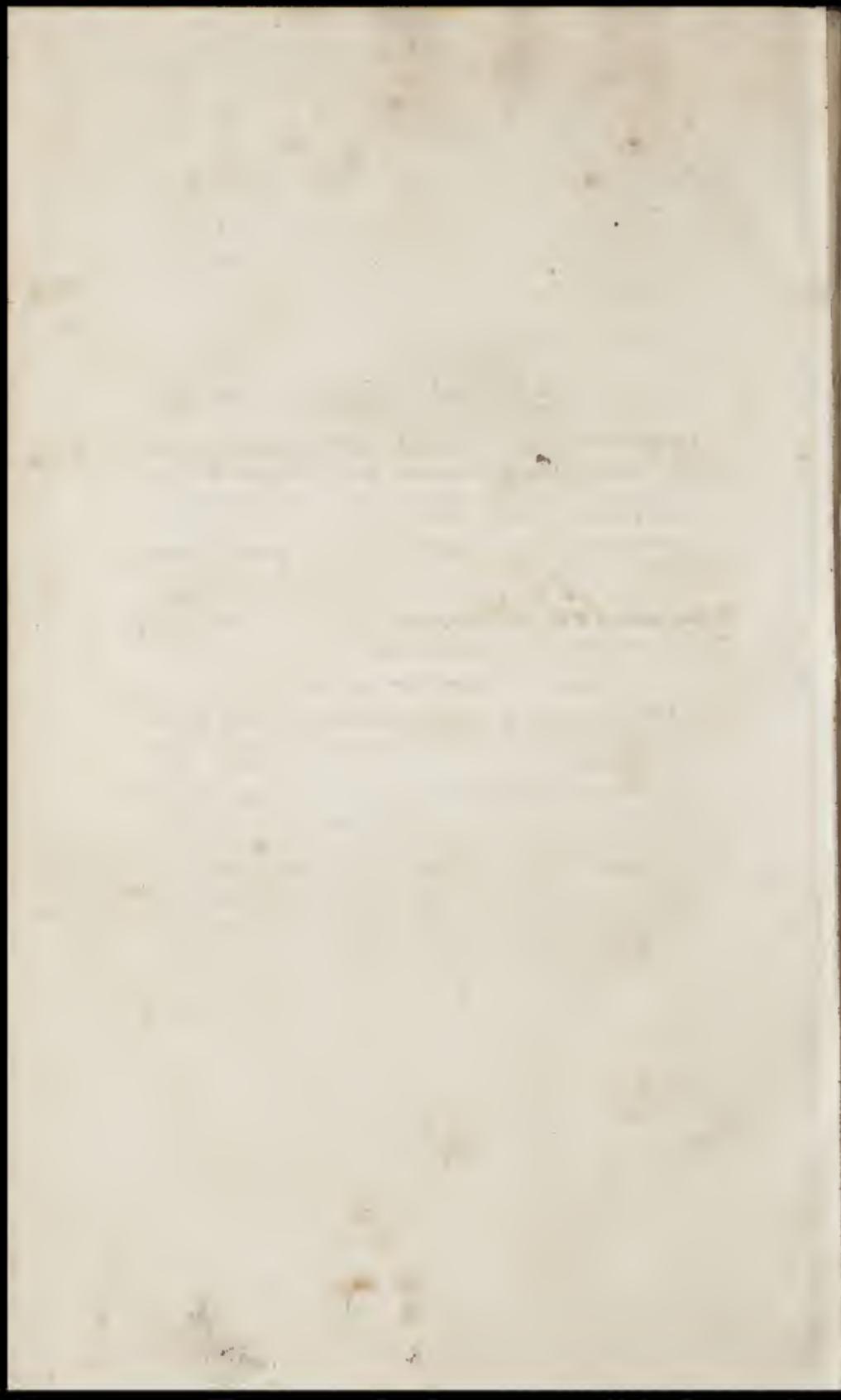
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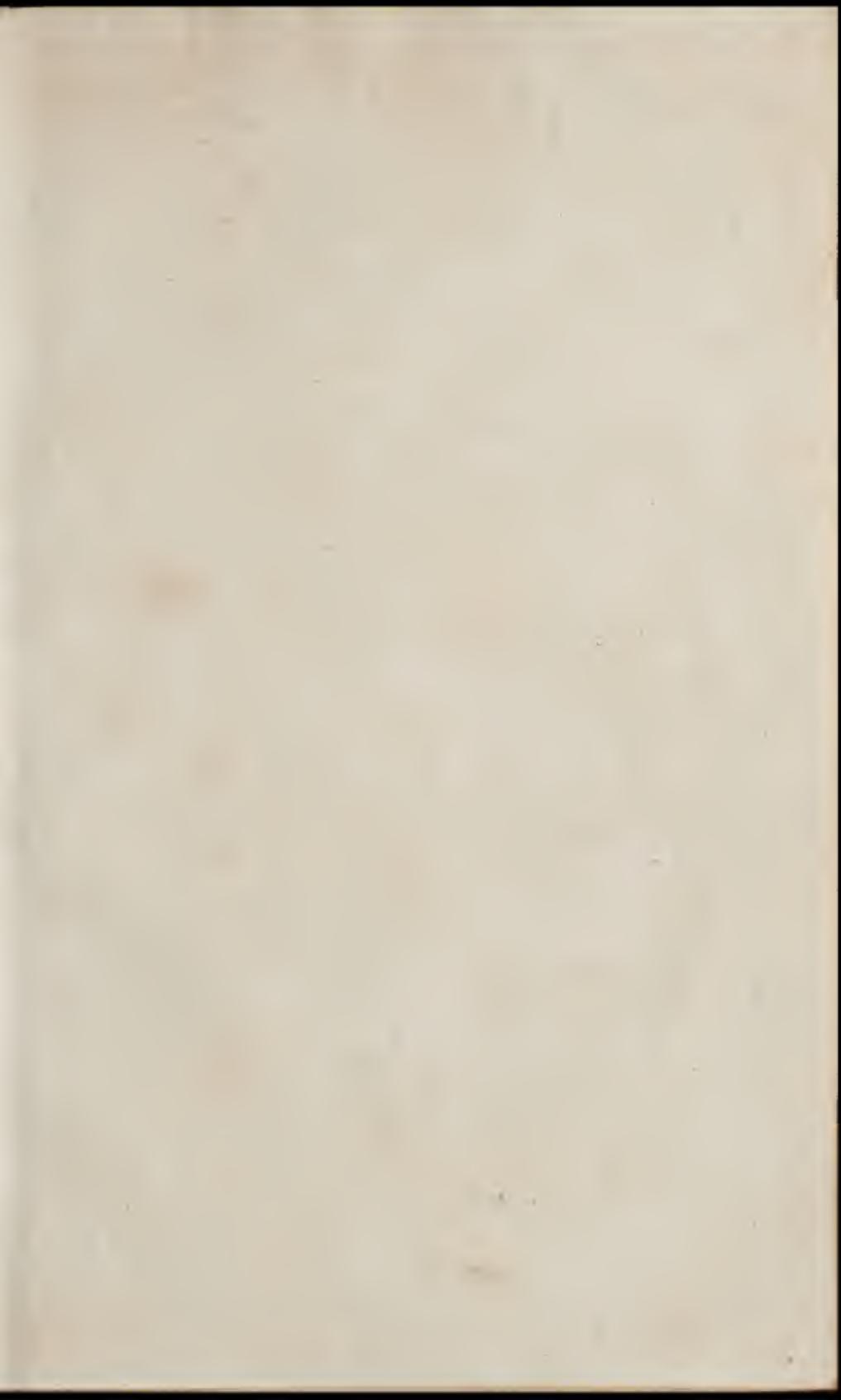
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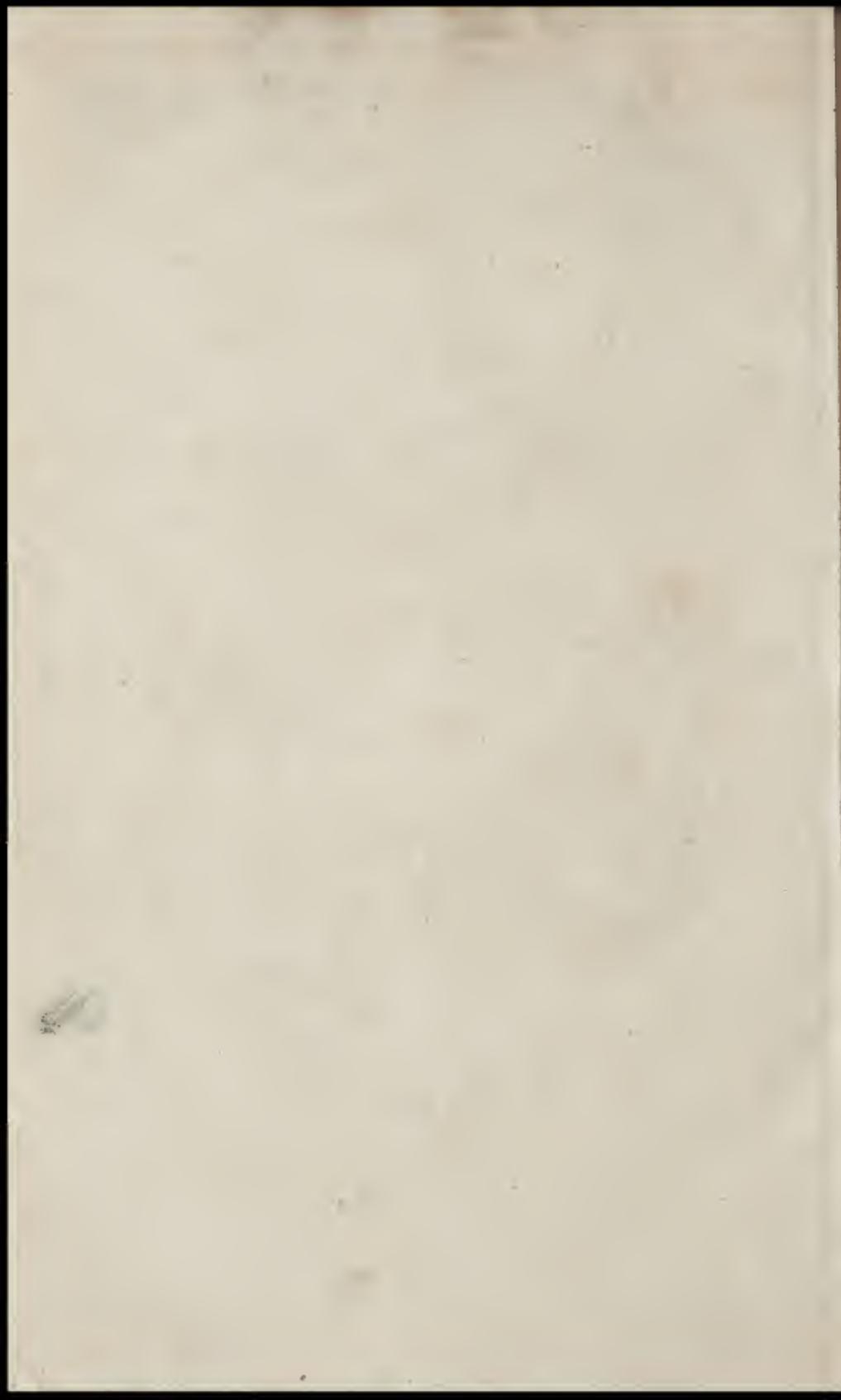
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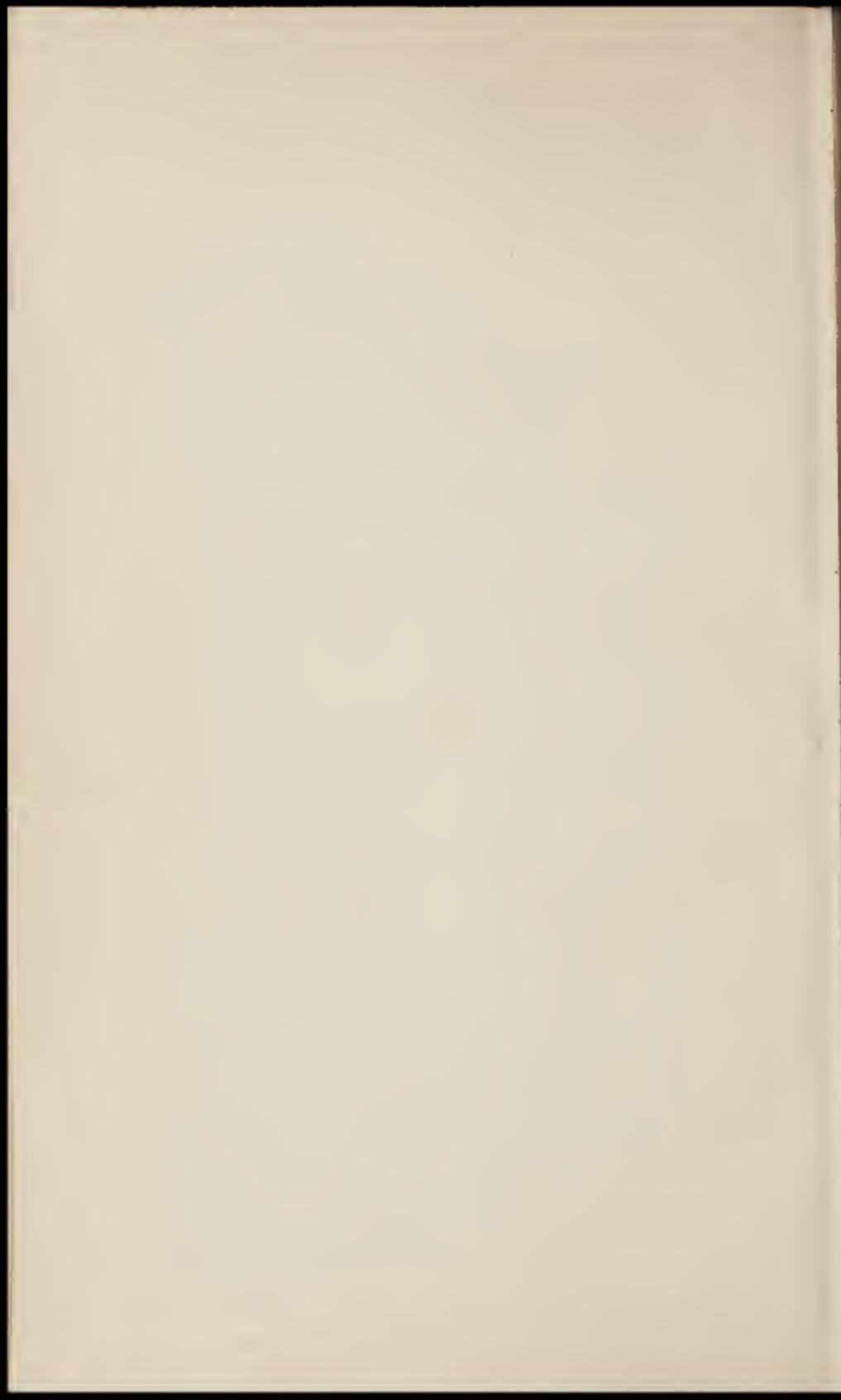
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